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ABSTRACT

The Magazine section of these proceedings contains the following six papers: "An Analysis of 'Magazine Type': Toward an Empirically Based Typology of Magazines and Non-Newspaper Periodicals" (Marcia R. Prior-Miller); "'Redbook': Changes in Attitude and Advice 1965-1990" (Jennifer Harbour); "A Quantitative Analysis of U.S. Consumer Magazines: Baseline Study and Gender Determinants" (David Abrahamson); "'You've Gone All the Way, Baby': The Portrayal of Women in 'Playboy' Cartoons" (Leah Grant); "A Life Cycle Study of Two Social Movement Magazines: 'The Mother Earth News' and 'Ms.'" (Patricia Prijatel); and "Inside a Repositioning: The Innerworkings of the Move from 'Steel' to 'Industry Week'" (Kathleen L. Endres). (SR)

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Part XIII: Magazines.

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AN ANALYSIS OF 'MAGAZINE TYPE': TOWARD AN EMPIRICALLY BASED TYPOLOGY OF MAGAZINES AND NON-NEWSPAPER PERIODICALS

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AN ANALYSIS OF 'MAGAZINE TYPE': TOWARD AN EMPIRICALLY BASED TYPOLOGY OF MAGAZINES AND NON-NEWSPAPER PERIODICALS

Classifying the media into groups with similar characteristics in order to simplify processing information about the media has long been practiced by media professionals. Media scholars similarly have recognized the need to cluster the media for the systematic study of communication phenomena. The most common and "the most obvious level of simplification"[1] has been to divide the media into general classes: radio, television, magazines and newspapers.[2] There are times when this general division of the media does not adequately differentiate among media channels, but identifying a means for sub-dividing the general classes of media has proven more nettlesome.

The body of marketing and advertising literature provides several efforts to subdivide the media beyond the four primary categories. Cannon and Williams concluded from their review of this literature that the majority of studies about television classifications have been relatively unproductive because of the complex theoretical problems facing those studies.[3] They did not, however, find the same problems existing for similar efforts to classify newspapers and magazines. They wrote,

> "Considering magazines in particular, an examination of the taxonomies developed during the past two decades suggest common threads that point to the existence of relatively stable classifications based on editorial appeal."[4]

Johnson and Schmidt reached a different conclusion from two independent reviews of the communication literature. They found that media scholars do not agree on the number of categories of magazines or the labels applied to those categories. Neither do media scholars agree on definitions

for, or the basic characteristics that differentiate among, magazines, for the most commonly used methods of categorizing the universe of magazines. These findings hold even when authors appear to be classifying and defining magazines for similar purposes. Johnson wrote,

> "Look at any current magazine study or mass media textbook and the problem becomes evident. There is no agreement on how to categorize magazines, much less how to determine the exact dimensions of the industry."[5]

Schmidt wrote, "Not only content but form and frequency of publication have been used as criteria for differentiating between magazines and other periodicals."[6]

The classification systems offered by the advertising and marketing literature do not provide solutions to the problems Johnson and Schmidt identified. There appear to be two key reasons: The advertising and marketing studies focused almost exclusively on magazines that carry advertising for consumer products. Second, titles of a wide range of magazines that do not carry consumer advertising or advertising of any kind were absent from the studies.[7]

The communication literature, while universally assuming the existence of subgroups of magazines, offers neither empirical tests nor systematic explorations of the underlying characteristics for defining and classifying the universe of magazines, journals, and other non-newspaper periodicals. Neither does the communication literature provide a broad base of empirical explorations of differences between commonly differentiated groups of magazines and how those differences impact communication phenomena.

An exception is Compaine's theoretical exploration of the relationships between audience size and the orientation of editorial content in magazines.[8] Unlike some of the advertising and marketing studies cited above,

Compaine provided no test of the theory he proposed. Neither did he attempt to reconcile his theory with other commonly used approaches to categorizing magazines. Instead, his study, like the advertising and marketing studies, focused solely on the so-called "consumer magazines."

The failure to identify an empirically based method of classifying magazines that meets accepted scientific criteria for typologies is a problem that has both theoretical and methodological implications central to the study of magazines as a medium of communication.

It can be legitimately argued that there is no single method of defining and classifying magazines that will be applicable to all research questions.[9] Yet while Reynolds points out that ". . . any set of concepts can be used to organize and classify the objects of study," a fact that leads to the problem of "determining which typologies . . . are the most useful," he also argues that organizing and categorizing the "things" that are being studied is one of the most basic tasks of scientific knowledge.[10]

An examination of the literature evidences a need to reconcile the most commonly used methods of classifying magazines to provide, at a minimum, a common starting point for research on magazines. The failure to articulate the relationships between the existing approaches leaves open the question of where a given study logically fits in the body of knowledge about magazines as a medium of communication. The articulation of such a framework is thus needed to assist scholars with positioning new studies while simultaneously defining subgroup(s) of magazines that will be the focus of the study on which they are embarking.

In the absence of a clear articulation of such a framework, scholars (especially those whose primary interests focus on the study of the non-news-

paper print media) are hampered in their efforts to make solid contributions from research on magazines to the growing body of knowledge about the mass media and the processes of mediated communication. Similarly, such a framework is needed if future magazine research is to overcome the several weaknesses identified by Gerlach and Reuss in this subfield of communication research. It might also prove useful in exploring questions posed by industry leaders.[11]

The purpose of the present study is to draw on data from an examination of the use of magazine type in the literature to determine both the most commonly used classification systems and the criteria upon which the categories in those systems are based. From that examination an effort will be made to bring clarity to the current methods of categorizing magazines. A typology that reconciles the apparent discrepancies and logical inconsistencies in the existing methods will be suggested for use in future magazine research.

Magazine Type and The Literature of Typologies

Clarifying definitions and building classification systems for the objects of scientific study are scientific processes nearly as old as the scientific enterprise. Indeed, developing typologies and taxonomies has been traced to Aristotle.[12]

Contemporary social scientists disagree about the value of taxonomic research[13] as a science in its own right. There is, however, greater agreement on the role typologies can play in developing and testing theory. Bailey calls the typology a form of nominal measurement to be used to "delineate meaningful social types" and to be based on one or more dimensions or variables.[14] Babbie recommends restricting the use of typologies to independent, or predictive, variables for interpreting data.[15]

A third function of typologies is also related to the building of theory, though somewhat less directly: the need for carefully articulated groupings of magazines for drawing samples of the population of magazines.[16] Lowry asked,

> "If a content analysis study shows a highly significant decrease in sexual stereotyping in a sample of full-page ads taken from two women's magazines during the last 30 years, a natural question is: To what other magazines or types of content might this result be generalized?"[17]

Lowry's question was one of several that illustrated the importance of sample design in relation to population validity in communication research, regardless of medium. He wrote,

> "The degree of population validity of a research study, or of an entire field of research, is largely a function of the types of samples studied, and how similar those samples are to the types of populations to which one would like to generalize. However, the crucial point is: It is impossible to determine to what populations a study can be generalized unless the sampling procedures used and the basic characteristics of the people or objects studies are *clearly specified*. To put it another way, if this important information is not clearly specified in a research article, then such an article has *no demonstrated population validity*.[18]

Reynolds argues that the first task of science is to name the objects being studied. Building on this base, the scientific enterprise can move forward, to the higher level tasks of explaining and predicting. Conversely, if no agreement can be found as to how the objects being studied are to be named, then how can explanation and prediction occur?

Reynolds outlined three criteria to be applied when determining the typology to be used: 1) exhaustiveness; 2) mutual exclusivity; and 3) consistency with other concepts used in the statements that express the other purposes of science. Of these criteria, Reynolds suggests the first two are the more obvious but the third is the "most important."[19] Among these latter

fall the questions of parsimony, a common level of abstraction, explanatory and predictive capability, and language with descriptive relevance required for building theory.[20] Tiryakian also requires that the dimension or dimensions that are "differentiated into types must be explicitly stated."[21]

Three clusters of literature provide evidence of media scholars' efforts to categorize magazines: textbooks for introductory courses in mass communication, textbooks for courses in magazine journalism and publishing, and the body of communication research.

The statements of authors' categorizations of the universe of magazines, hereafter referred to as "magazine type," were examined in thirteen mass communication texts,[22] twelve magazine textbooks,[23] and 228 reports of research on magazines[24] to determine whether the universe of magazines was divided into more than one category. If it was, the categories used to classify the population of magazines were identified and coded.

Secondly, the criteria, or characteristics, for the categories were identified and coded. The extent to which the classification system(s) appeared to be 1) exhaustive; 2) mutually exclusive; 3) parsimonious, and 4) on a common level of abstraction was analyzed, as was use of the classification system as the sampling frame or as an analytic variable with descriptive relevance for theory building.

Reynolds says that developing a method of organizing and categorizing the objects of study is "the easiest [of the tasks of science] to achieve."[25] Nonetheless, five sources introduced their classifications of magazines with statements about the difficulty of providing a summary of the population of magazines.[26] Fink approached the task indirectly, thereby avoiding the suggestion that he was providing a summary framework for the

universe of magazines.[27] Only two of the 24 mass communication and magazine textbooks used the same number of categories, labels, and criteria for categorizing the universe of magazines and journals.[28] The labels used by investigators whose work comprised the journal literature paralleled for the most part the criteria and labels used in the mass communication and magazine textbooks.

Because scientifically designed research requires careful definitions of terms used in the research, and because there has been an increase in the emphasis on empirically based inquiry in communication research,[29] the research literature was expected to provide clarity to the disparities evidenced in the mass communication textbooks. Investigators were more specific than textbook authors about the exact criteria being used to define sampling frames. No efforts were found in which scholars or investigators attempted to reconcile the discrepancies in definitions and approaches used in the literature.[30] Study designs tended to evidence the same lack of consensus in defining and labeling magazine categories that was found in the mass communication and magazine textbooks. The research literature did highlight subtleties in definitions not as easily discerned in the mass media and magazine textbooks.

Magazine Typologies in the Communication Literature

Four approaches to categorizing the universe of magazines are commonly used in the introductory mass communication textbooks, magazine journalism and publishing textbooks, and research on magazines.

The *general-specialized* dichotomy.

The first approach is the *general-specialized* dichotomy.

Audience size. Gerlach followed the lead of Wolseley[31] when he

divided the research literature on magazines into two groups, "general and special publications," for his analysis of magazine research published in *Journalism Quarterly* from 1964 through 1983.[32] Traditionally based primarily on the criterion of audience size,[33] this commonly used dichotomy is the most parsimonious of the approaches.

Audience scope. Beyond size this definition for the general-specialized dichotomy also refers to the nature, or composition, of the audience, where "general" refers to an audience that is demographically very diverse. Some authors use geographic diversity as the measure of audience scope, where national or international circulation constitutes a general audience, regional or formal organization circulations constitute a specialized audience.

Mott appears to have had both geographic and demographic dimensions of the audience in mind when he talked about the emergence of the general magazine in the 1800s.[34] Fink also adopted a geographic meaning he added the national circulation dimension to his description of general interest magazines.[35] Agee et al., appeared to build on the demographics of the audience for their "general family" category as the first of thirteen interest categories for magazines.[36]

Editorial scope. The terms "general" and "specialized" are also used to refer to the nature of the editorial content of the magazines, or what can be defined as the *editorial scope* of the magazine.[37] Mott continued to use the general magazine category in each succeeding volume as one of a number of different categories for describing groups of magazines and individual titles in the history of American magazines. However, his definition later appeared to expand, to include editorial scope.

Although these characteristics are highly interrelated, they are

distinctly different characteristics. The first two are audience based, the third is medium, or content, based.

Using this definition, Hynes contrasted the fiction and nonfiction in general and "quality" magazines;[38] Lysonski[39] compared the advertising in magazines with general appeal content and magazines with men's and women's appeal content.

Although at first glance the general-specialized dichotomy appears to meet the exhaustiveness and mutual exclusivity tests, a closer look at source definitions and the use of this approach in specific studies suggests otherwise. If, for example, a researcher wanted to replicate Gerlach's study,[40] the question would have to be answered of whether the replicated data base would include studies of organizational magazines and scholarly publications? Gerlach did not say; his selection of Wolseley's 1977 definition suggests his sample included research on organization publications but not scholarly journals.[41]

Wolseley acknowledged that the general-specialized approach failed to meet the test of mutual exclusivity. He wrote,

> "A specialized magazine can be a subgroup of the general interest category if the audience is sufficiently large. However, it can also be more narrowly defined, and be considered only a specialized magazine."[42]

The inability of this approach to meet the criterion of mutual exclusivity is also evidenced in both the research literature and the introductory mass media and magazine texts. Scholars differed on the specific titles and range of contemporary magazines and journals that might be included in the general or specialized categories.[43]

Some scholars who use the audience-size criterion also use the terms "mass"[44] and "popular"[45] as synonyms for "general." Strickland et al., com-

pared "largest circulation" magazines with "magazines targeted to selected audiences."[46] Drawing a careful distinction between the two characteristics, audience size and editorial scope, invalidates use of the terms as synonyms. Hayes points out that city magazines have an editorial orientation that is general, but target audiences that are geographically restricted.[47] As a result, audiences for city and regional magazines are frequently relatively small compared to the audience sizes of nationally circulated magazines, even when the latter have specialized editorial orientations.

In still another study, Schweitzer[48] compared "general editorial" with five other categories of magazines: business, news, women's service, science, and beauty/health. The magazines selected to represent each of these categories were further selected on the basis of high circulations within the categories. Schweitzer thus illustrates using a complement of characteristics within the general-specialized framework, where scope of subject is one characteristic and size of the audience is a second.[49] Merrill et al., wrote,

> "With the possible exception of *Reader's Digest*, no legitimate general-interest magazines managed to survive the mid-century trauma of television. In their place is a new breed of magazines, either offering a single subject of broad appeal . . . or covering a wide variety of topics but targeted specifically to audiences with demonstrable demographic differences . . . ."[50]

Thus, while the general-specialized dichotomy appears on the surface to meet the common level of abstraction test, the literature gives evidence that operational definitions of the concepts differ markedly.

The general-specialized dichotomy was frequently used as a sampling device, but seldom were comparative results reported.

The *interest area* approach.

At the opposite extreme of the general-specialized dichotomy is the

use of *interest*, or *subject*, *area* as the organizing criterion.

Using this least parsimonious of the approaches, Taft, in his overview of contemporary magazine publishing, suggested 19 categories of magazines, Ford, nine.[51] Black and Whitney used the Audit Bureau of Circulations' 27 suggested categories.[52] Gamble and Gamble suggested 100 categories, based on *The Writer's Market*'s listings.[53] A count of interest categories in any current set of *Standard Rate and Data* directories pushes the count to more than 300.[54]

The interest area approach to categorizing magazines has several strengths that commend it, particularly to the research enterprise: First is its ability to provide a match with the subject of specific questions that are being explored. If, for example, a scholar wishes to look at fiction for women, it is both intuitively accurate and methodologically sound to select fiction published in women's interest magazines that are targeted to female audiences.[55] Advertising and marketing research used purposive sampling that crossed interest areas[56] while research on non-advertising communication phenomena was more likely to select a limited number of magazines from within a single interest area.[57] This approach also appears most easily to provide a explanatory capability within the scope of a given study.

The approach is limited in its predictive capability in relation to the universe of magazines. Indeed, it suggests that to find the answer to questions of broad theoretical interest, a scholar might need to replicate a study on every interest group known to the universe of magazines. Thus it follows that this approach suggests there is potential for meeting the exhaustiveness test *if* a scholar is persistent in tracking down all possible interest groupings of magazines, to either replicate a given study on each group or

to sample a cross-section of each group.[58]

The approach fails the mutual exclusivity test. Sources differ, for example, in their designation of *Vogue* magazine as a "women's interest" or a "fashion interest" magazine.[59] Pollay[60] placed *Better Homes and Gardens* in a group of "domestic" magazines to be compared with "women's" and "general interest" magazines, among others; Choe et al., selected *Better Homes and Gardens* as one of two "women's" magazines to compare with the news magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*, which they described as "general interest" magazines for the purposes of their study.[61]

This latter weakness appears to derive partially from the questionable ability of the interest-area approach to meet the "common level of abstraction" test. On the surface, it appears easily to meet this test, but closer inspection raises the question of whether two magazines are on the same level of abstraction if both target primarily female audiences but one magazine is a "cooking" magazine read primarily by woman and the other a magazine that deals with business and workplace issues unique to women? Does this again confuse the characteristics of the magazine's editorial content with the characteristics of the primary audience served by a magazine?

The interest area approach was the most frequently used frame for sampling, usually together with one or more dimensions of the general-specialized dichotomy. Studies used interest area both as a sampling frame, for which results were typically reported for the sample as a whole; and as a variable, for which comparative results were reported within the context of the question asked in the study.

The *information function* approach.

The third most commonly used approach to classifying magazines uses

information functions to categorize magazines. A wide variety of category labels are used with this approach, but closer examination of those labels suggests this method takes two basic directions, as does the general-specialized dichotomy: The first direction is classification of magazines by the primary function served by the advertising in the magazine, or the *advertising information function*; the second direction categorizes magazines by the primary *editorial information function*.

Advertising information function. The advertising-information-function approach categorizes and labels magazines by the primary type of advertising carried in the periodical: "Consumer magazines" carry consumer advertising and "business magazines," business advertising; "farm" magazines, advertising for agriculture-related products.[62] Magazines that do not use advertising or for which advertising provides only a small proportion of the funding compared with funding from corporations or other profit-based companies (or, in some cases, non-profit organizations), are often subsumed in a separate category and labeled according to the primary source of funding: company, association, or sponsored.[63]

If the common level of abstraction test were applied, the advertising-information-function approach might suggest, for some research purposes, two magazine groups, magazines with ads and adless magazines, although with the possible exception of Norris' study of adless magazines,[64] no studies were found that used this approach.

Editorial information function. Sources that used the *editorial-information-function* approach suggested a broader range and number of labels for categorizing magazines. Among the editorial-information-function categories suggested were entertainment and escape, news and information, and advoc-

acy and opinion; public relations, as well as terms that closely paralleled the advertising information function terms (e.g., lifestyle, trade, technical, religion, literary and academic, organization magazines).[55]

In general, the majority of contemporary media scholars appear to favor the descriptive capability provided by the information-function approach for describing the universe of magazines. Research on non-advertising and marketing phenomena also used this approach on occasion.[56]

Most sources selected a variation of the more parsimonious advertising-information-function approach. The advertising-information-function approach is theoretically consistent for advertising and marketing research on magazines, although relatively few use the corresponding SRDS directories as sampling frames for study designs.[57]

Regardless of which of the two alternatives is chosen, the information-function approach is more parsimonious than the interest-group approach. Authors of both mass media and magazine textbooks used as few as three and no more than eight categories when they classified magazines using the two information-function perspectives. This approach also appears to have a greater capacity to meet the exhaustiveness, mutual exclusivity, and common levels of abstraction tests than either the general-specialized dichotomy or the interest-area approach. However, the approach evidences several weaknesses.

The primary weakness in the editorial-information-function approach lies in its uneven application. There was far less consensus on the number of categories and the labels for those categories when authors used the editorial-information-function approach than when they used the advertising-information-function approach. There is often lack of clarity as to the specific dimension(s) of the magazines upon which the categories are based. The major-

ity of scholars mix labels from the advertising- and editorial-information function approaches; in a given classification system, the labels may derive from both advertising- and editorial-information-function approaches.

Biagi's three categories mixed advertising, editorial, and funding source criteria: "(1) Consumer publications; (2) trade, technical, and professional publications; and (3) company publications. Dominick's five categories included "literary reviews and academic journals," "newsletters," and "public relations magazines." Hiebert et al., included literary magazines as a separate, third category with "consumer" and "business" magazines. Merrill et al.,'s categories included "trade," "little and academic," "scientific and scholarly journals," and "consumer magazines." Click and Baird included "consumer," "business," "association," "farm," and "public relations" magazines, as well as "one-shot" magazines, as separate categories.[68]

Authors were almost universal in their retention of the "consumer" label for magazines that provided information designed to be used by people in their day-to-day, non-occupational lifestyles, even though few of those same authors stated either the criterion or the source for the approach of choice. There were exceptions: Dominick cited the *function criterion* and omitted agriculture publications; DeFleur and Dennis cited the *Writer's Digest*'s "consumer, trade journals, sponsored publications, and farm publications" categories.[69]

Strictly defined, the advertising-information-function approach does not account for magazines that are not funded by advertising or corporate budget lines.[70] A number of these adless magazines share editorial and audience characteristics in common with the majority of magazines in the "consumer" magazine group but are logically excluded from that category if the prim-

ary criterion for inclusion in the category is the advertising carried in the magazine.

The advertising-information-function approach subsumes in its categories magazines that carry the type of advertising indicated by a categories' labels, but which have editorial functions and audiences that differ substantially from the majority of other publications in the categories.[71] The "business magazines" category, for example, is defined by a number of scholars,[72] to include academic and scholarly journals. These periodicals often carry advertising that is, by SRDS definition, business advertising.[73] The publications are also used by professionals in their occupations. But the vast majority of academic and scholarly publications serve a very different function for their audiences than do other business or trade publications. (Some writers call these "professional journals" to distinguish them from "trade or technical" publications."[74] Under the editorial-information-function approach, these publications are placed in a separate category.[75]

The same is true for publications that SRDS lists as Agri-media periodicals. Click and Baird describe these publications as being "virtually the same as business publications."[76] And, as do the SRDS *Consumer* and *Business* media directories, the SRDS *Agri-media* listings include magazines that are sponsored by and published primarily for members of agriculture organizations, as well as academic journals.[77]

Retention of the "farm" magazine category in an advertising-information-function listing[78] also raises the question of where to place farm magazines that carry no advertising and provide information that is designed for use in the readers' non-working lifestyles.[79] From both the editorial- and advertising-information-function perspectives, the "farm" or "agriculture"

label appears to be topical, or interest-area based, just as is *medical* (the newest breakout of the *SRDS* directories).

For the most part, the advertising- and editorial-information-approaches are assumed for research design. There are, however, examples of studies for which scholars have used the advertising- and editorial-information-function categories as variables in comparative research designs. Bearden et al., compared the ability of consumer and trade publications to reach media buyers; Jacobson compared the research practices of consumer and business publishers. Moriarty compared advertising typography trends in three groups of magazines: general, special interest consumer, and trade magazines; Payne et al., building on Towers' and Hartung's uses and gratifications study, found statistically significant differences in media use motives for readers of a consumer magazine and readers of a trade publication.[80]

The *multiple characteristics* approach.

Almost without exception, mass media and magazine textbook authors combine as few as two and as many as all four of the above approaches to describe the universe of magazines. Furthermore, multiple characteristics are frequently presented as a hierarchy: One approach is selected as the overarching division, with one or more of the other approaches used as subcategories. On occasion, other characteristics are introduced.

Sources used seven additional characteristics to describe the universe of magazines 1) when the additional characteristics appeared to provide insight into the universe of magazines, journals and other non-newspaper periodicals; and 2) when authors wanted to highlight a specific title or group of magazines not otherwise highlighted by the primary approach that author had used. Those dimensions were:

1. publication frequency
2. distribution method
3. audience demographics
4. audience psychographics
5. style of writing/information treatment
6. publication purpose
7. format

The multiple characteristics approach highlights individual titles and groups of magazines that are not immediately apparent if only one classification approach is used. But perhaps more than any one of the other approaches, comparing the labels given to categories, both within groups that use the multiple characteristics approach and across sources, highlights the problems posed by the failure to clarify definitions and provide specific criteria for the categories.

Agee et al., use a two-tiered system in which they use the term "general" for the first category of magazines, "specialized business and trade," for the second category, and "religion," "agriculture," "industrial or company" for the last three categories. The second level in their system names thirteen interest categories that range from "general family," "news," and "sophisticated writing quality" magazines to "Sunday supplements," "retail store supplements," and "desktop publishing."[81]

Click and Baird started with the general-specialized dichotomy, using the audience-size criterion to divide the universe of magazines into two groups. They then subdivided the population of magazines into six categories: general consumer, special interest consumer, business, association, farm and public relations." Wolseley subdivided the two general-specialized groups into 11 general and 13 specialized interest area categories. Hiebert et al., used a consumer-business dichotomy and suggested that the general/special-interest dichotomy was a subdivision of the consumer category. Wilson divided

the universe of magazines into general and special interest. He used the *U.S. Industrial Outlook, 1990*'s three advertising-information-function categories (consumer, business and farm) as the second-level division, and interest-area divisions as the third. This system required the addition of a final section, which he labeled "Additional Periodicals," for academic journals and organization publications, along with five other groups that many authors subsume within the consumer, business or organization categories.[82]

Authors seldom attempt to describe the relationships between the levels, leaving readers to establish the connections, or not, as they will. What may appear to be intuitively logical from reading one source may be directly contradicted from the reading a two or more other sources, as is suggested in the examples cited above.

Other than the studies already cited, there is little external empirical evidence to support or counter the relationships suggested by the different sources. Neither is there a substantial body of empirical evidence to argue for using one approach over another within the context of a given line of inquiry, with one exception.

Compaine has argued that there is a correlation between differences in the information content of magazines and audience size. He hypothesizes that the greater the amount of "passive" editorial content (where "passive" is defined as "information intended for the reader's entertainment or general knowledge"), the larger the audience, assuming intent to reach a mass audience. And, the more actively involved an audience is with the information in the magazine, the smaller, or more limited, the size of the audience, regardless of interest area, assuming intent to reach a limited audience.[83]

The relationships thus established result in a four-cell typology:

mass-passive, mass-active, limited-passive, and limited-active magazines. Compaine illustrated the typology using titles of magazines typically classified as consumer magazines,[34] but he did not include titles that crossed the other information-function categories. As a result, he provided no argument for how, or if, he perceived his theory would apply to non-consumer magazines. He wrote,

> "The term 'special interest' is used here to refer particularly to the types of consumer periodicals that fit into the limited audience/active information block in the matrix. General interest magazines are considered to be those that are mass audience/passive interest in content."[35]

A Reconciliation of the Commonly Used Magazine Classification Systems: Toward A Theory of Magazine Types

The question, then, is what communication investigators are to do. Is it possible to find a way through the maze of existing efforts to classify magazines? Is it possible to identify a broad framework for categorizing the universe of magazines that will 1) meet the standards for scientifically designed typologies; 2) suggest how existing research on a specific magazines or a group of periodicals may be related to the universe of magazines; 3) lead to increasingly fruitful explorations of communication as it occurs in magazines; and, in turn, 4) enable magazine scholars both to contribute to existing theories of communication and, perhaps, even develop new theory from which scholars studying other forms of media might draw? If yes, how?

The Typology Criteria

The preceding examination of the four most commonly used approaches to classifying magazines suggests a modified typology of magazines that is built on the strengths of those methods while simultaneously reconciling the contradictions and discrepancies inherent in the existing approaches. The

proposed typology derives its form from the nexus of the answers to two key questions:

1. *What is the primary editorial information function that each group of magazines is designed to fulfill?* Stated differently, this question asks whether, of the most commonly used methods of categorizing magazines, there is a common function that is shared by magazines that logically cluster together. That function might be directly stated; it might also be implied.

2. *Who, or what, is the primary receiver of the information content of the periodical?* The second dimension of the typology addresses the audience dimension. Magazines are more than a channel through which to disseminate information. As with other media, they are a conduit through which sources and audiences engage, in what Mary Zey-Ferrell has described as

> "a dynamic, on-going, every-changing, transactional process. . . . [C]ommunication is a reciprocal process in which both parties--senders and receivers--mutually affect each other as they send and receive messages."[86]

In its essence, this question focuses on the basic structure of the audience, in sociological terms. As did the first question, this question also seeks a definition based on a characteristic common to the nature of the audiences served by the magazines in the category, not on narrowly defined demographic or psychographic determinants.

The Typology Defined

Theodore Peterson has written, "Most periodicals can be squeezed, sometimes uncomfortably, into four broad categories.[87] The categorization of magazines in the literature also suggests it is possible to divide the universe of non-newspaper periodicals into four primary periodical types, if two criteria are used to evaluate 1) the *primary intended audience information*

function, and 2) the *primary intended audience structure*, first for editorial content, and second, advertising content, when present. Audience information function is defined as the primary use intended for the major portion of the information in the periodical.

The labels and definitions for the magazines that would fall into each category are:

> 1) **lifestyle periodicals**, or periodicals that contain information, the primary purpose of which is to contribute to the growth and enhancement of the non-occupational portion of the intended audiences' lives, however they are impacted, by larger political, religious, and social issues, or news and information that relate to the home and family, leisure and hobby, or other individual and personal dimensions.
>
> 2) **occupational periodicals** are periodicals that contain information, the primary purpose of which is to contribute to the development and enhancement of workplace environments and to doing the work from which the primary intended audience members derive their livelihoods;
>
> 3) **scholarly periodicals** are periodicals for which the primary purpose of which is to provide information intended to contribute to the growth of a body of knowledge. The information content itself is the product of research and scholarly work and is intended primarily for audiences who also use that information to contribute to the growth of a body of knowledge;
>
> 4) **organizational periodicals**, are those periodicals that contain information, the primary purpose of which is to contribute, either directly or indirectly to the growth and development of a specific organization, whether association, business or other formal organization. The information content itself is intended for readers who may have either strong or loose ties to the organization.

Typology Assumptions

Harold Lasswell described the communication process with the often quoted framework, "Who (a source) says what (a message) to whom (a receiver), in what channel (a medium), to what effect?" For almost half a century, the body of communication research has been dominated by the effects paradigm,

based on this model or variations thereof. Rogers and Rogers, looking more closely at the process, added the dimension of sender and audience *meanings*. Even more recently, Shoemaker and Reese have drawn on a growing body of research to argue for expanding our perspective on the communication process beyond the effects model, to include exploration of influences that impact media content.[88]

The classification of magazines proposed herein is designed within this enlarged perspective. The typology categorizes magazines by the source's *intended meanings, or functions*, which, for the purposes of this framework, are defined as the *primary function the information is designed to serve for the audience*, when the *channel* is the magazine, the *message* is the total concept, or formula, for the magazine, and the *receiver* is the *primary target audience*.

From a communication perspective, then, as well as from an industry perspective, the typology assumes that the intended purpose for the content of a magazine drives the selection of the funding base--including decisions to offer advertising--rather than advertising determining the editorial content. Anyone familiar with the realities of magazine publishing can point to both historical and contemporary examples in which advertising gave rise to the creation of the editorial product, in general, the editorial → advertising model is the one upon which the most effective and successful magazine publishing is based.[89] Thus, in the proposed framework, *primary editorial information function*, rather than *primary advertising information function*, determines the categorization of magazines.

The typology assumes exclusion of newsletters, both as a category of magazines, and as a form of magazine.[90] Newsletters instead are assumed to be

a separate medium, on the same conceptual level with radio, television, newspapers, magazines, and books. That is, newsletters are assumed to have specific communication functions unique to the format, content, and audiences for which they are designed. Newsletters share characteristics more similar to newspapers and magazines than to radio, television, and most books, but are not the *same as* either of these two forms of the print media.

The suggested reconciliation assumes that beyond the primary intended audience information function dimension, magazines in each category have *multiple characteristics* that will be related to the category dimensions in varying degrees, within and across groups (See Tables 2a and 2b).

From this base, then, any number of characteristics could be explored as they are evidenced within and across the four categories of magazines in the typology. More importantly, magazine type and these characteristics can be explored in relationship to other communication phenomena, leading to the building of communication theory. Some characteristics may have no influence on how communication occurs; other characteristics may be major determinants of how communication occurs.

Publication frequency, for example, was introduced as an additional organizing criterion.[91] Although not a variable of major theoretical importance in the research literature to date, publication frequency can be a critical variable in heuristic contexts as well as in applied magazine studies.[92] Frequency of publication occurs in every group; every magazine is published under a predetermined-determined frequency. That frequency may vary by category: That is, weekly and monthly publication are common to lifestyle and occupational publications, while bimonthly-monthly and quarterly publication are common to scholarly and organizational periodicals.

Relationship of Primary Intended Information Function and the General-Specialized Dichotomy Characteristics: Audience Size, Audience Scope, and Editorial Scope.

The first set of relationships to be reconciled with the proposed typology are those of the general-specialized dichotomy: audience size, audience scope, and editorial scope.

As noted in the analysis of approaches, some sources gave the general-specialized split preeminence over all other categories; others embedded the general-specialized division within one or more of the information-function categories. No studies were found in the literature that provided a definitive, empirical answer to the question of whether editorial scope, audience size, or audience scope determine or are determined by primary information function.

The proposed typology hypothesizes that primary intended information function and interest area combine to determine potential, or intended, audience size and scope; editorial scope, or treatment, determines actual audience size and scope. That is, the primary function that a publisher (or editor, or writer) intends the content of a magazine to serve for the audience works together with the interest area as the primary determinants of the size of the intended audience (See Table 1). These three then, determine the treatment of editorial content.

There appear to be two arguments in the literature for this relationship. The first is embedded in Compaine's theory of the general-specialized audience. Compaine *assumes* magazine type, drawing on the information function approach: He selected consumer magazines as the focus of his study. He then hypothesized that there is a correlation between a magazine's treatment of the subject, whether active or passive, and the scope of the audience,

whether mass or limited in size.[33]

The second argument for the relationships described in the proposed typology is based on the collective bodies of advertising and public relations literature. These two bodies of literature differentiate on the dimensions of editorial scope and audience scope both for magazines that carry business advertising, and magazines published for organizations and their publics, respectively.

The advertising literature defines business and trade magazines as either "horizontal," having subject matter that appeals to a broad audience, working in many different work environments; or "vertical," appealing to readers in a specific occupation or industry.[34] Careful examination of these two concepts in context and in the research literature suggests they are the equivalents to the "general-specialized" dichotomy applied to the consumer, or lifestyle, category. The horizontal-vertical dichotomy uses the audience scope and editorial scope dimensions as interrelated distinguishing characteristics. Soley and Reid drew on the dichotomy as a sampling framework for research on advertising in industrial magazines; they did not study the same phenomenon in a horizontal magazine.[35]

The public relations literature describes a variation on the general-specialized theme in their traditional differentiation between internal and external publications, employee and external publics magazines. The organization publications, by design, serve either broad audiences (external) or more narrowly defined audiences (internal), and in some cases, both. Again, the audience size criterion is ignored, but the highly interrelated audience and editorial scope dimensions are critical to the definitions of these magazines.[36]

Scholarly publications, too, are often viewed from within the academy as being either interdisciplinary or disciplinary. This distinction within this category suggests again the "general" and "specialized" distinction, as determined by editorial scope and audience scope.[97]

Neither the authors of mass media textbooks nor authors of magazine textbooks incorporated these distinctions into their approaches to classifying magazines.

The Relationship of Primary Intended Information Function and Interest Area

The body of research literature draws heavily on interest areas for cross-sectional sampling, both when the general-specialized dichotomy is used and when the information-function approach is assumed for studying consumer or business magazines.

For classification purposes, the proposed typology subordinates interest area to subdivision status within the intended audience information function (See Table 1). This positioning is consistent with the approach used by the majority of scholars and researchers, irrespective of their selection of the general-specialized dichotomy or the information-function approach as the preeminent organizing principle for the universe of magazines.

The proposed typology differs from the body of literature, however, in that it elaborates on traditional approaches by suggesting that interest areas span the categories. Thus, magazine titles will be clustered by interest area within cells in the four intended audience information function categories. In the process, some cells may be heavily populated (For example, the "women's interest" cell in the lifestyle category; the medical interest cell in the occupational category). Other cells will be lightly populated;

some will have no titles, indicating that no magazines are published that would fall within that particular cell.

The proposed typology assumes the designation of "'farm' or 'agri-media'" magazines to be interest-area labels. Under the proposed approach, individual titles within this interest area would fall into each of the life-style, occupational, scholarly, and organizational function cells, as appropriate to the primary intended information function of each magazine.

By convention, the label given to a particular interest area might differ by occupational group, academic community, or formal organization; however, the basic subject focus of that interest would be essentially the same. Thus, for example, lifestyle magazines providing information about agriculture might be called "farm" magazines; occupational magazines might be referred to as agri-business publications; scholarly publications might be called agriculture science and organizational publications might be called rural organizations, or referred to by the particular segment of the agriculture industries or lifestyles that they serve. Similar examples exist in a number of other areas, such as women's interest's (lifestyle), "women's studies" or "feminist studies" (scholarly), and women's organizations (organizational).

Relationship of information function and locus of information use.

The locus of information function[98] in the first three categories of the proposed typology is largely outward-looking. That is, the intended need for and use of the information in the periodical is designed to be external to the publishing organization, placed squarely within the context of the reader and the world in which the reader lives and works.

By contrast, the primary intended information function in organizational publications is largely reflexive. The information is designed to draw the reader back to the organization, to involve the reader in the organization, its goals, and purposes in some way.

Within the proposed magazine framework, then, an organization publication, such as *AEJMC News*, differs from *Journalism Quarterly*. Both publications are published by a non-profit scholarly association (the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, AEJMC); both are funded primarily by (membership dues). Under the proposed typology, the first is an organization magazine, the second is a scholarly publication, because the use to which the information in the publications will be put (e.g., the *primary intended audience information function*) is quite different. Similarly, even though the two audiences to whom the two publications are targeted overlap, the *roles* in which the audiences will use the information in the two publications, differs. *AEJMC News* provides information designed primarily to meet information needs for the audience as members of AEJMC; *Journalism Quarterly* provides information designed primarily to meet information needs for the target audience in their roles as scholars and researchers. These differences in information functions also results in different people being included in the primary audiences for the two publications.

Indeed, these two publications are as different from each other in their *primary intended audience information function* as are the functions of *Journalism Quarterly* and the *Columbia Journalism Review*. These two publications would be placed into the scholarly and occupational categories, respectively.

The interest areas in each case, (mass communication, or an industry

variation, thereof: journalism, advertising, public relations) span three categories in the typology. The interest-area related functions the information in the respective periodicals are designed to serve, on the other hand, differ with the roles in which the primary audience of the respective publications will use the information.

Discussion and Implications

Researchers as well as authors of introductory mass media and magazine textbooks typically use four general approaches to classifying the universe of magazines. For the purposes of this study, these approaches have been labeled the *general-specialized dichotomy*, and the *interest area*, the *information function*, and the *multiple characteristics* approaches. In the latter, sources combined two or more of the first three approaches, and in some cases introduced other characteristics as primary dimensions.

Three different dimensions, or characteristics, were variously found for definitions of the general-specialized dichotomy: audience size, audience and editorial scope. Two dimensions, advertising and editorial, were variously found to be used to define information functions.

The four primary approaches were used as the starting point for a reformulated magazine typology that 1) reconciles the apparent inconsistencies and discrepancies within and between the existing approaches; 2) clearly specifies the criteria upon which the reformulated typology is based; and 3) provides a framework for the relationships among the magazine dimensions that were embedded in these four commonly used approaches to classifying magazines.

The proposed typology is an "ideal type" precursor to a "constructed type" conceptualization of the universe of magazines. That is, the proposed typology is a tentative model, derived from research on the existing efforts

to categorize magazines. The proposed typology is designed to precede further research leading to more useful articulations of the model. In keeping with the methodological functions of the "ideal-type" construct, the proposed typology is designed to:

> (a) . . . provide a limiting case with which concrete phenomena may be contrasted; an unambiguous concept by which classification and comparison [are] facilitated.
> (b) . . . constitute a framework for the development of type generalizations . . . which, in turn, serve the ultimate purpose of ideal-type analysis: the causal explanation of historical events."[99]

The subsequent development of a constructed type with its related, clear-cut hypotheses should provide "a means of ordering data and . . . facilitating generalization"[100] for future research. As such, the typology provide a certain "heuristic and interpretive value"[101] Exploring magazine type as a predictive, explanatory construct may allow us to gain additional insights into differences in communication by magazine type. Is, for example, the scope of the primary intended audience of a magazine a better predictor of how a particular communication phenomenon might occur than editorial scope? Or, is interest area the stronger predictor?

The proposed typology of magazines is alos designed to meet standard criteria for classification systems to be used in building theory for empirically based research. As an ideal type framework, the proposed typology is not based on a single title or group of titles. Neither does it "correspond exactly to any single empirical observation."[102] Few magazines serve a single function. Thus criteria are stated as having *primary* information functions and audiences: The primary function, not secondary, establishes the periodical's location in the typology. Some publications fit squarely in the center of the categories, others are marginal. An example of the latter would be

the *Harvard Business Review*.[103] Other publications, such as *The Nation* or alternative lifestyle periodicals fit into the "lifestyle" category because of the broad based definition for that category rather than because they are "lifestyle" publications in a more traditional use of the term.

The typology is proposed as the foundation for a construct of magazine type that is potentially more complex and dynamic than the typology may appear on first flush.

The model suggests a framework, not only for testing against a wide variety of communication questions, but also for evaluating existing research on magazines--however limited that body of literature may be--[104]to establish with a higher level of certainty than was previously possible, the theoretical links between a proposed research and already completed research. It suggests limitations on the generalizability of existing and proposed research as well as potential for additional studies.

More important, the proposed typology calls for exploring a wide variety of magazine characteristics that impact both the creation of magazine content, and communication processes and effects, given a wide variety of settings and intents for the medium and its content.

At a minimum, sensitivity to the diversity of definitions currently in use for the most common approaches to classifying magazines requires greater precision in theory building and empirical inquiry as well as attention to establishing sampling frames and measurement in research on magazines.

END NOTES

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2 Robert A. Peterson, "Psychographics and Media Exposure," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 12:17-20, (June 1972).

3 Cannon and Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

5 Sammye Johnson, "Magazines: Women's Employment and Status in the Magazine Industry," in P. J. Creedon, ed., *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values*, Sage Focus Editions, No. 106. (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1989), p. 196.

6 Dorothy Schmidt, "Magazines," Chapter 6 in M. Thomas Inge, ed., *Handbook of American Popular Culture*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), p. 137.

7 Frank M. Bass, Edgar A. Pessemier, and Douglas J. Tigert, "A Taxonomy of Magazine Readership Applied to Problems in Marketing Strategy and Media Selection," *Journal of Business*, 42: 337-363 (July, 1969); Susan P. Douglas, "Do Working Wives Read Different Magazines from Non-Working Wives?" *Journal of Advertising*, 6:40-43, 48 (Winter 1977); Charles W. King and John O. Summers, "Attitudes and Media Exposure," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 11:26-32, (February 1971); Joseph O. Rentz and Fred D. Reynolds, "Magazine Readership Patterns," *Journal of Advertising*, 8:22-25 (Spring 1979); Douglas J. Tigert, "Life Style Analysis as a Basis for Media Selection" in *Life Style and Psychographics*, William D. Wells, (ed.), (Chicago: American Marketing Association), pp. 173-201; Christine Urban, "Correlates of Magazine Readership," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 20:73-84 (August 1980a); Christine Urban, "Editorial and Program Choices of Heavy Media Users," *Journal of Advertising*, 9:32-43 (Winter 1980b); Alladi Venkatesh and Clint B. Tankersley, "Magazine Readership by Female Segments," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 19:31-38 (August 1979). One exception was evidence of female readership of farm magazines in Charles E. Swanson, "The Frequency Structure of Television and Magazines," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 7:8-14 (June 1967).

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10 Paul Davidson Reynolds, "Introduction," *A Primer in Theory Construction*, (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1971), pp. 4-5. See also, Earl Babbie, "Indexes, Scales, and Typologies," in *The Practice of Social Research*, 4th ed., (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing, 1986), pp.

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11 Peter Gerlach, "Research About Magazines Appearing in *Journalism Quarterly*," *Journalism Quarterly*, 64:182 (Spring 1987); Carol Reuss, "Current Magazine Research: Lines of Inquiry," Presentation to the Magazine Division, National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, San Antonio, Texas, August 3, 1987; and Edward J. Smith and Gilbert L. Fowler, "Generating Magazine Research: Topics, Methodologies and Opportunities," Research Panel, Magazine Division, National Convention of the Association for Education, East Lansing, Michigan, August. 8, 1981.

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15 Babbie, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

16 Dennis T. Lowry, "Population Validity of Communication Research: Sampling the Samples," *Journalism Quarterly*, 56:62-68, 76 (Spring 1979). See also: Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *An Introduction to Social Research*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

17 Lowry, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

18 *Ibid.* Emphases in the original.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

20 Tiryakian, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Kenneth W. Thomas and Walter G. Tymon, Jr., "Necessary Properties of Relevant Research: Lessons from Recent Criticisms of the Organizational Sciences," *Academy of Management Review*, 7:343-352 (July 1982); Walter L. Wallace, "Theories," in *The Logic of Science in Sociology*, (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 87-119.

21 Tiryakian, *loc. cit.*

22 See End Note Addendum.

23 J. William Click and Russell N. Baird, *Magazine Editing and Production*, 5th ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1990), pp. 1-27; Anthony Davis, *Magazine Journalism Today*, (Oxford: Heinemann Professional Publishing, 1988); James L. C. Ford, *Magazines for Millions*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), pp. 2-12; Betsy P. Graham, "The Market for Magazine Articles," *Magazine Article Writing*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), pp. 19-27; Jim Mann, "Which Comes First: Market or Magazine," *Magazine Editing*, (New Canaan, Conn.: Folio Magazine Publishing Corporation, 1985), pp. 5-18; Leonard C. Mogel, *The Magazine*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Globe Pequot, 1988), pp. 4-11.

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Frank Luther Mott's classic historical documentation of magazines in the United States was also reviewed. See, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), Vol. 1-5.

24 Investigators' use of the concept of "magazine type" was examined in 228 reports of research about magazines listed in *Communication Abstracts* as having been published in the 14-year period from 1977 through 1991. The time period parallels the availability of magazine research indexed in *Communication Abstracts*.

Citations on research about magazines were identified by tracing research indexed under the following keywords: MAGAZINES, MAGAZINE ADVERTISING, MAGAZINE CONTENT, MAGAZINE HISTORY, MAGAZINE INDUSTRY, MAGAZINE MANAGEMENT, MAGAZINE READERSHIP, BLACK MAGAZINES, CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES, CITY MAGAZINES, COMPANY PUBLICATIONS, NEWS MAGAZINES, PERIODICALS, and PERIODICAL INDEXES.

Magazine research indexed by specific countries or magazine titles was also included (BRITISH MAGAZINES, JAPANESE MAGAZINES, KOREAN MAGAZINES, LADIES' HOME JOURNAL and TIME).

All bibliographic citations were recorded for every report in these 20 categories. In addition to coding to identify the articles, research reports were coded for 1) the year the article was published; 2) whether the universe of magazines was subdivided into more than one category; 3) the labels used

for the categories; 4) the criteria or characteristics given for the categories; and 5) the magazine titles included in each category; 6) the extent to which the method of categorization appeared to meet the criteria for a scientifically designed typology; and 7) whether magazine type was used as an independent, or analytic variable, or to define the population from which a sample was drawn.

Only summary data are included in this paper. A more detailed data report and analysis of the data are reported in a separate paper, "An Analysis of the Use of Magazine Type in Published Magazine Research," by the author, forthcoming.

25 Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

26 Agee et al., wrote, "Generalizations about the content, style, and appearance of magazines are dangerous because so many variations exist among the . . . periodicals . . . ." *op. cit.*, pp. 156-169. Dominick said, "Obviously, classifying the magazine industry into coherent categories is a vexing problem" *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135; Farrar said, "These are highly subjective classifications for purposes of illustration. The student who wishes a detailed breakdown should consult the trade press, notably *Folio* magazine and the *Standard Rate and Data Service* yearbooks," *op. cit.*, p. 180; Gamble and Gamble said, "The modern magazine industry is so diverse that it is difficult to categorize it," *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139; Hiebert et al., wrote, "Categorizing contemporary periodicals is not a simple matter, . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 309. Taft wrote, "Since there appears to be no single acceptance as to what a magazine is, researchers have difficulty in determining how many periodicals exist today," *op. cit.*, p. 24.

27 Fink, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-169. Although Fink did not formally categorize the universe of magazines, he suggests eight magazine categories.

28 Gamble and Gamble used Click and Baird's classification scheme. Of the 12 magazine sources, four made no attempt to summarize the universe of magazines. Graham, *op. cit.*, and Schoenfeld and Diegmueller, *op. cit.* discussed markets for magazines but made no attempt to provide summary categorizations of the universe of magazines. The remaining six did: Click and Baird, *op. cit.*; Davis, *op. cit.*; Mogel, *op. cit.*; Ford, *op. cit.*; Taft, *op. cit.*; and Wolseley, *Understanding Magazines*, *op. cit.*. Of these, only Click and Baird, Davis, and Mogel were published since 1985. These were assumed to reflect current thinking and research on the nature of the field. Analysis of these five sources provided comparative insight into the classification of magazines over time.

29 W. James Potter, Roger Cooper, and Michel Dupagne, "The Three Paradigms of Mass Media Research," Unpublished manuscript presented to the Communication Theory and Methodology Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, Mass., 1991.

See also: Jean Folkerts and Stephen Lacy, "Journalism History Writing, 1975-1983," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62:585-588 (Autumn 1985); Wylbur Schramm, "Twenty Years of Journalism Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 21:97-101 (1957); E.J. Webb and J. R. Salancik, "Notes on the Sociology of Knowledge," *Journalism Quarterly*, 42:591-96 (Autumn 1965).

And, Babbie, "The Logic of Sampling," *op. cit.*, pp. 136-176.; Bailey,

"Survey Sampling," *op. cit.*, pp. 83-108; and Guido H. Stempel III, and Bruce H. Westley, "Survey Research." and "Statistical Designs for Survey Research," *Research Methods in Mass Communication*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981), pp. 144-166; 167-195.

30 This finding paralleled Johnson's observation, *op. cit.*, about the introduction to mass media and magazine textbooks. Similarly, in the research reports on which this article is based, investigators stated the primary criterion used to determine which magazines would be included in the study and drew conclusions about their findings within that framework. Few investigators attempted to generalize their findings to the universe of magazines. Lowry, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68, found that the universe from which samples were drawn was identified in fewer than half the communication research reports published from 1970 through 1976 in seven communication journals.

31 Roland E. Wolseley, "The Role of Magazines in the U.S.A.," *Gazette*, 21:20-26 (June, 1977), p. 21; See also Wolseley, *Understanding Magazines*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

32 Gerlach, *op.cit.*, p. 178.

33 Wolseley, *Ibid.*.

34 Mott, *op. cit.* 1:121, 339-347; See also Volume 5: Index to the Five Volumes, pp. 421-22.

35 Fink, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

36 Agee et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

37 See, for example, Agee et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57; Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-139; Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Cathy Meo Bonnstetter, "Magazine Coverage of Mentally Handicapped," *Journalism Quarterly*, 63:623-626 (Autumn 1986); Dennis W. Jeffers, "Using Public Relations Theory to Evaluate Specialized Magazines as Communication 'Channels.'" *Public Relations Research*, James E. Grunig and Larissa A. Grunig (eds.), Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989), 1:115-124.

38 Terry Hynes, "Magazine Portrayal of Women, 1911-1930," *Journalism Monograph* No. 72. Minneapolis, Minn.: Association for Education in Journalism, 1981.

39 Steven Lysonski, "Female and Male Portrayals in Magazine Advertisements: A Re-examination," *Akron Business and Economic Review* 14:45-50 (2, 1983); "Role Portrayals in British Magazine Advertisements," *European Journal of Marketing* 19:37-55 (7, 1985).

40 Gerlach, *op. cit.*

41 Wolseley included scholarly journals as a sub-division of the specialized periodical category in his 1965 text, *Understanding Magazines*, *op. cit.*, p. 8, but made no direct mention of them in his 1977 *Gazette* analysis, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-26. A replication of Gerlach's study might, therefore, logically exclude

research on academic journals.

42 *Understanding Magazines*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

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Table 1

Proposed Typology of Magazines and Non-Newspaper Periodicals Based on Primary Intended Audience Information Function

Primary Editorial Information Function:	***Information designed primarily to contribute to audience:***			
	LIFESTYLE	***OCCUPATIONAL***	***SCHOLARLY***	***ORGANIZATIONAL***
Primary Audience	Lay people	People working in occupations	Academicians scholars researchers scientists	People who have loose or close ties to organizations
Editorial Scope	Diverse Subject Specific	Diverse Subject Specific	Diverse Subject Specific	Diverse Subject Specific
Audience Scope	General Specialized	Horizontal Vertical	Inter- Disciplinary	External Internal
Audience Size	Varies	Varies	Varies	Varies
Interest Area:	News	Journalism	Mass Communication	Media
(Examples)	Farm/Country	Agriculture	Ag Science	Ag/Rural
	Religion	Religious	Religious Studies	Religious
	Political	Government	Political Science	Political
Other Characteristics: (See Tables 2a and 2b)				

Table 2a
Reconciliation of Commonly Used Industry Labels with Reformulated Typology

Primary Editorial Information Function	*Information designed to contribute primarily to audience*			
	LIFESTYLE	*OCCUPATIONAL*	*SCHOLARLY*	*ORGANIZATIONAL*
Commonly Used Labels	Consumer Lifestyle Alternative Lifestyle Adless General Specialized	Trade Business Technical Professional Specialized Industry(ial) Agricultural	Learned Literary Scientific Professional Specialized Academic Little	Company Association House organ Public Relations Sponsored Industry(ial) Employee Alumni Non-profit
Editorial Scope	General Specialized	Horizontal Vertical	Non-technical Technical	Broad Specific
Audience Scope	General Specialized Popular National Regional	Horizontal Vertical Specialized	Inter-Disciplinary Disciplinary Specialized	External Internal Specialized
Audience Size	General Mass Popular Specialized	Specialized (Typically not treated as a factor)	Specialized	Specialized
Communication Function	Information Opinion Entertainment	Information Opinion	Information Opinion	Information Persuasion Public Relations
Demographic Markets	Women's Men's Children's		Feminist Studies	Women's Organizations
Geographic Markets	City Regional National	City Regional	Regional	Internal External
Information Treatment	News Literary Criticism Opinion	Technical	Technical Literary Scientific	

Table 2b

Reconciliation of Commonly Used Industry Labels with Reformulated Typology, Continued

Primary Editorial Information Function	*Information designed to contribute primarily to audience*			
	LIFESTYLE	*OCCUPATIONAL*	*SCHOLARLY*	*ORGANIZATIONAL*
	Dimensions: (Continued)			
Frequency	Monthly Weekly Sunday magazines	Monthly Weekly	Quarterly Quarterly	Monthly Quarterly
Primary and Secondary Funding Bases	Consumer Advertising Subscriptions Single copy sales	Advertising for occupation related prod. (Business, industrial) Subscriptions	Association Memberships Dues Library subs Business Advertising	Budget line Membership Dues Consumer Advertising Business Advertising
Circulation Methods	Subscription Single Copy	Subscriptions Controlled Newsstand	Memberships Library Subscriptions	Membership Controlled
Distribution Methods	Mail Newsstands	Mail	Mail Library	Mail Informal

Redbook: Changes in Attitude and Advice 1965-1990

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During the 1960s and 1970s as the feminist movement gained prominence, women's magazines began to offer advice on everything from health to relationships to beauty and more. This study was conducted to reveal changes in the advice given in Redbook, one of the oldest of the traditional women's magazines, over a 25 year period, from 1965-1990.

Articles with advice on relationships, children, and sex were studied to determine changes in attitudes over time. Other topics regularly covered in the pages of Redbook included medicine and "Young Mother's Story" (how a woman handled a personal dilemma or conflict).

This study tracked the number of articles per topic, as well as the content of those advice articles during the 25 years from 1965-1990. Changes in attitude were seen most in the advice for relationships, sex, and "Young Mother's Story," with "evergreen" advice occurring regarding children and medicine.

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INTRODUCTION

During the 1960s and 1970s, the feminist movement gained new prominence. More women were starting to work outside of the home and legislation was passed to protect them from discrimination in the work place.[1] Change was imminent and this could be noted through magazine content, as they "began to worry about the 'trapped' educated housewife."[2] During the 1980s, the past decade of the 1970s was reflected upon as "the decade of the women," because their lives had changed more in the past ten years than over the previous 100 years.[3] Redbook, a popular women's magazine, changed with the times and with women, giving advice on everything from health to relationships to beauty and more.

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted to reveal changes in the advice given in a women's monthly magazine over a 25 year period. The years 1965 to 1990 were filled with changes in the role of women in American society. The women's movement, which dates back to the 1860s, started after the Civil War when women started lobbying for abolition.[4] It had a rebirth in the 1960s and 1970s when women lobbied for legislation against discrimination of females in the work force. This was known as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, and was passed in 1964.[5] For this reason, 1965 was chosen as the starting point of this study. Organizations were formed to

lobby for women's rights as more women entered the work force in "career paths defined in the rhythms of a male life-cycle."[6] The January and July issues of Redbook were studied every five years, beginning in 1965 and ending in 1990, with the main focus being the advice given and the change in the attitudes of women.

According to Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, advice is a "recommendation regarding a decision or course of conduct."[7] The advice studied in Redbook came from various articles and departments in the magazine and covered a wide variety of topics. Experts on such subjects as relationships, children and sex gave advice to readers based on current issues of the time. One of the regular departments has been written by Dr. Benjamin Spock since 1962, when he was hired by Redbook to write pieces on caring for infants and young children.[8] He has been noted for his pediatric advice since 1955.[9] Another ongoing department, "Young Mother's Story," offered readers the chance to write advice on various subjects for the other readers. The requirements for "Young Mother's Story" changed throughout the years, but the basic concept remained the same.

RESULTS

Relationships. The American family has undergone many changes in the past 25 years; however, it remains unchanged that "bearing children

and raising a family are central to the aspirations of most American women."[10] In 1965, the American lifestyle called for "early marriage, an isolated house, and children born close together," all before a woman turned 30.[11]

In 1965, a woman was not considered a woman until "a man has participated in and completed the process that makes her one."[12] Men did not realize the importance of their role in this process. The author concluded that there are four stages of adolescence: the young woman must emotionally separate herself from her parents, but not reject them; she must establish a value system for herself; she must chose a life goal that will enable her to be financially independent; and she must accept the joys and the responsibilities of her sexual role.[13] It is only then that she will truly become a woman.

In 1970, the role of money and love were analyzed in a marriage. It was concluded that money and sex play similar roles in a marriage. Men use money to express themselves by purchasing gifts for their wives. Similarly, wives will use their bodies as expression, or "giving the gift of themselves."[14] When problems arise, the husband may find fulfillment in a prostitute; whereas, the wife may skim money out of the house funds for a secret account. The author recommends that couples understand the connection between money and love; for it is not a bad connection, it is

only misused as a form of punishment.[15]

Commitment was defined as the "cement that binds individuals and groups together" in 1975.[16] It was based on caring for a person and wanting to take care of that person. Extramarital affairs were blamed on the spouse being unable to meet the other's physical or emotional needs, or that the spouse having the affair had found another "unique source of pleasure."[17] In order to correct any misconception it was suggested that a spouse accept the other as a person, which would give the other better self-esteem, which in turn would result in a better sexual response.

Redbook has offered various types of advice to keep women's relationships with the men running as smoothly as possible. In 1975, with the rising number of women in the work place, the magazine ran an article about handling men at the office. The Redbook author suggested forgetting the advice of Helen Gurley Brown and said that if you liked your job, do not stir up trouble. On a list of ten suggestions, this ranked number one. Another suggestion was to avoid getting too close, even platonically, to male co-workers.[18] This advice would come in handy, as most American women would be both married and working outside the home by 1980.[19]

Both in 1980 and 1985, "The Marriage Checkup" was printed, although each was written by a different author. It is interesting to note that in 1980 the article recognized different "'styles' of being married or

living together." It consisted of a quiz on the satisfaction of a mate's help when you are troubled, on discussing items of common interest/shared problem, on a mate accepting your desire to try new activities, on the way your mate expresses affection, and on the way you share your time together. Both partners in the relationship were to take this quiz and compare answers. Any differences could then be discussed, and each could explain what he or she wanted from the relationship and why. The answers to the questions were a reflection of what satisfied each reader, and it was important that the couple find their own happiness.[20]

In 1985, the quiz had changed and included a Romantic Attraction Questionnaire which was "used to predict how well a couple are suited."[21] Advice was offered on how to bring out the best in your marriage by having a 20-second kiss three times a day, by writing love letters to each other, and by thanking each other for something special every day.[22] Six months later in 1985, Redbook recommended how to pick the right mate: Make sure your partner has the traits you want; don't marry if you do not love the other, but do not marry for love alone; those most similar to us make the best mates; and marry for yourself and not anyone else. To choose wisely "takes a combination of skill, energy, and good fortune."[23]

In 1985, not only did the woman have to work at her marital relationship, she also had to keep money from coming between her and

her spouse. In some cases, the woman had to take a job to help with expenses and the man felt "she has a part-time job and I have a part-time love."[24] In another case, the husband lost his job and both had to work at odd jobs to keep the family going. In both cases, a therapist recommended the importance of open communication to keep things going.[25]

Not only does money put strain on a relationship, children also have the potential to keep husband and wife on separate lines. A 1990 issue of Redbook recommends five steps to staying close: put your relationship first, have quality couple time, present a united front, meet your own needs, and cultivate intimacy.[26] Another issue suggests an eight minute plan to solving disagreements. The first step is to call a conference, and chose a time when both partners have the opportunity to talk. The issue is not mentioned until the conference. After discussing the issue, the author suggests two minutes of silence before sharing solutions.[27]

Sex. Another facet traced was the changing attitudes toward sex. "Sex sells big in our society...especially in the field of publications,"[28] which may be why Redbook uses this topic repeatedly. The number of articles relating to sex have greatly increased in more recent years, but did not go unnoticed before this time. After all, "sexuality is as basic to man's life in the world as is the fact that he walks in an upright position and has a highly developed brain."[29]

Although in 1960, the Federal Drug Administration approved "the Pill," which made for recreational sex "not tied to procreation or even to domesticity,"[30] Redbook did not cover the topic until 1970. Women needed to know birth control alternatives. Redbook ran an article explaining the basics of sex education, along with contraceptive advice. Of all the available methods, it was recommended that the method the reader chose should be best suited to her specific needs. Birth control was seen as a type of family planning that with "correct and consistent use of the selected method will minimize the failure rate and maximize success."[31]

A few months later, sex conflicts due to anxiety about the morals taught to us by parents, teachers and society were exposed and suggestions were given on how to correct problems. According to the article, the most important way to deal with these feelings of guilt is to talk about any problems, especially with your mate because each of you want to please the other. However, if you cannot talk to your mate, at least talk with someone you respect. The author even went so far as to suggest that an extramarital affair might help, although it may only intensify the problem.[32]

In 1975, Redbook exposed common misconceptions women have about men. These included that men can have sex whenever and wherever, that something is wrong with a man if he cannot get an erection

and maintain it, that premature ejaculation means the man does not care for his partner, and that if he did care he would control it. This was the attitude of many women of the time, but Masters and Johnson set out to prove that these myths were not true. The truths are that a man must first be aroused before he can have sex, sexual response in both men and women "waxes and wanes," men fear rejection of their sexual performance, and he probably does care, but should seek professional guidance.[33]

In 1980, readers were reassured that it was not necessary to feel guilty about having sex. The author even used religion to back her claims that it is alright to enjoy sex and enhance your sexual confidence. She had Catholic, Protestant and Jewish theologians give their opinions on sexual activity. She reasoned that "joyless sex is possibly the best reason there is for unlearning guilt."[34] This could be achieved through "graduated calming," in which smaller anxieties were calmed, thus making the larger ones less imposing. Another recommendation was to think pleasant thoughts whenever guilty feelings entered the reader's mind.[35] It is hard to tell whether or not the attitude toward sex was changing, although with the AIDS epidemic on the horizon in the mid-80s, the change should have been rather drastic.

By 1985, the emphasis in articles pertaining to sex seemed to be how to make your sex life better. Sexuality is a need of all of us "even if we

loathe to admit it!"[36] Some advice given recommended that there is no correlation between good looks and a good sex life. "Good sex grows out of many things—communication, sensitivity to your partner, imagination, love..." and the article suggested ways to like your body more, which would lead to a better sex life.[37] Another factor to consider in improving your sex life is foreplay, which is considered the best time for creativity.[38] And if your sex life get boring, a vacation is recommended to bring back the excitement.[39]

In 1990, Inhibited Sexual Desire (ISD) was examined. This is the lack of interest in sex and is considered the number one sexual problem. It was suggested that ISD was masking a "psychological or relationship problem." Cures recommended were to not focus on negative qualities and to discuss problems with your mate.[40] Another author wrote that although sexual pleasure is physical, it originates in the brain. A quiz followed to determine whether the reader was a "right- or left-brained lover." It was then suggested that the reader try to become more "whole brained" by trying things that seemed unnatural, being more adaptable toward their lover, applauding successes, and recognizing the positive qualities of the mate.[41] A following article suggested different types of aphrodisiacs to put the spice back in one's relationship.[42]

Children. Following advice on relationships and sex was advice on

children. Redbook's series by Dr. Benjamin Spock about children in different stages of growth helped answer some common questions. Dr. Spock did not answer each reader's question individually, but he invited them to write in and he tried to respond in his column. Other authors also gave suggestions for raising children. The topics do not seem to be time-related as the advice given in any one year would probably be quite similar years later.

In 1965, one of Dr. Spock's topics dealt with fussy eating habits. He suggested that forcing a child to eat something he did not like would only cut down his appetite. To solve this problem Spock suggested serving balanced meals that the child would eat and not to force the child to eat what he chose not to eat. However, substitutes could be used if it is something the child has never liked.[43]

In 1970 an author in a different department wrote with advice about children, such as sending them to nursery school at as young as one year old. The reasoning was based on evidence that a "human being never again learns as rapidly as he does before the age of three."[44] Spock wrote about obscenity and brutality. He was concerned about the children's exposure to this. He advised parents to support obscenity laws, as artistic works would prevail.[45] Six months later, he wrote singing the praises of *Sesame Street.* When most television shows were violent, this show

educated children through entertainment. It taught values, numbers and the alphabet, and created "a positive appreciation by having attractive adults and children of various skin colors and backgrounds taking part in all scenes."[46]

The star of another television hit, Mister Rogers of *Mister Roger's Neighborhood*, spoke to mothers regarding various topics. Although reluctant to say one thing was exactly right or wrong, he did have valuable suggestions. He advised parents to let their children share in the grieving process when someone they know dies. Rogers also recommended that parents explain handicaps to children so they do not think it is an "unspeakable subject." Roger's main point was that the truth is always better, and that was what he tried to convey on his show.[47]

In 1975, baby habits such as head-banging and lip-biting were analyzed. Habits such as these are "simply expressions of the normal tensions of growing up." But it has been suggested that head-banging, lip-biting and thumb-sucking are all associated with the pain of cutting teeth. Another baby habit is body-rocking, which is the result of a disturbed child-mother relationship.[48]

A new concept in raising children was teaching them sexual equality. Dr. Spock's column in January 1975 taught fathers how to teach their children about sex roles. He suggested allowing girls to play baseball and

boys to play with dolls, if that is what they wanted to do. He also encouraged fathers and sons to take part in domestic activities. Guidance was recommended to parents who thought their child wanted to be of the opposite sex over several months.[49]

In 1980, when it was "clear that inflation is hitting hard at essentials in the lives of young couples," an article ran letting potential parents know approximate costs involved with having a baby. This was in light of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, passed in April 1979. This required employers offering health benefits to also offer maternity benefits. However, costs also included hospital costs, doctor bills, diapers, food, maternity clothes, baby clothes and furniture, among other costs.[50]

"Most parents don't know when to start setting limits to a child's behavior," so in 1985 Redbook ran an article on how to discipline children. It was recommended that "...firm discipline is critical to a child's optimal development, because it gives her a clear sense of who she is and what her limits are."[51] It was interesting to note the change in the language used, as previously children were usually referred to as "he," but by 1985 the child is referred to as "she." Most important was to use physical punishment as a last resort.

Six months later, ways to analyze a child's troubled behavior were detailed. Readers were encourage to not make excuses for a child's

misbehavior. The writer advised parents to let children learn responsibility through suffering the consequences of their wrongdoings. It was also suggested that parents "stick to their guns" on discipline and not back down on decisions that had already been passed down. The writer also recommended that parents teach their children that living at home is a privilege and that the children had to abide by the established house rules. Parents were encouraged to be aware of the warning signs of drug and alcohol use.[52]

Dr. Spock covered the topic of unpopular children. He suggested that the popularity of a child depended on each one's unique personality and birth order. He recommended increasing sociability by getting the child involved in groups with other children and to take the child and a friend places. A group of three children was discouraged as it usually resulted in one child being left out. He thought it best to have "at least one satisfying friendship," than to have multitudes of unsatisfying ones.[53]

In the 1990s, Dr. Spock's advice dealt with sex play in children. He wrote that this was a natural part of growing up and occurred in all children. The most important thing was to not threaten the child. Giving him or her a toy as a distraction was fine, although it was not necessary.[54]

Dr. Spock also helped parents with overly sensitive children. As for children that cried all the time, Spock advised in 1990 that the

parent find the source of unhappiness for the child. Then there was a situation in which a child that used to love to bathe had begun to scream at bath time. Spock wrote that children experience temporary fears due to an active imagination. He suggested that the fear may be of "being washed down the bathtub drain during his bath," and recommended that the parent not tease or shame the child.[55]

Medicine. Medicine was also covered in the pages of Redbook, although somewhat infrequently. In 1965, medicine was not a large topic, although walking during pregnancy was recommended. Readers learned the basics of sex education and family planning in 1970. The editors also encouraged women to get a Pap smear at least once a year in order to detect cancer.[56]

In 1975 issues studied, there was no medical advice. However, "for five minutes a month the wise woman practices medicine without a license" and doctors herself was the advice in a 1980 article recommending that a woman give herself a monthly breast exam to detect abnormalities.[57] It was also suggested that ears and blood pressure be checked. Also in 1980 was an article recommending ways to having more energy. The article stated that doctors could not solve all of the problems, and that the patient had to take an active role. Eating better, getting appropriate rest, staying at a target weight, and exercising were the key

solutions. Vitamins were recommended if one did not get proper nutrients from her diet, although it was better to have a proper diet.[58] And as a service to the readers, copies of the article were available for 35 cents.

In 1985, symptoms for various conditions were published in order to help readers detect early problems. Some of the symptoms were for diseases such as chlamydia, genital warts, asymptomatic herpes and pelvic inflammatory disease were reported. Although it is impossible to detect all problems, this article "heightened awareness" for the readers.[59] A risk profile was run in this same issue explaining target blood pressure ranges, and detailing how high was too high. Symptoms could not always be detected as in the case of fibriods. Fibriods are usually found in gynecological examinations. They can be left or they can be surgically removed in a hysterectomy or myomectomy.[60]

In 1990, there was a measles epidemic and the magazine responded by suggesting ways to protect children from the sometimes fatal disease. Recommendations were also printed for making your immune system stronger through proper nutrition. Many cancer patients die unnecessarily because their doctors are not up to date with the latest innovations. Redbook ran an article to give readers tips about cancer treatments. The first problem was with doctors that treat cancer although they are specialized in another area. The patient's emotional strength and attitude

can also be effective, if they believe they should "never say die." And as with all major illnesses, always get a second opinion.[61]

"Young Mother's Story." One ongoing feature that has remained throughout the years is the "Young Mother's Story." The criteria for this feature has changed slightly over the years, but the basic concept has remained the same. Readers are invited to write in (for a sum of money, if published) and describe certain experiences. The topics varied greatly, yet they were similar in the fact that they dealt with women who had overcome problems.

In 1965, the criteria stated that each month Redbook would publish the problems of a young mother and how she dealt with them. One of the stories was about broken toys and how one woman confronted the manufacturer to get replacements after years of silence.[62] Another 1965 story was written by a Catholic woman about her decision to use birth control. She had 11 children and was pregnant with her twelfth at the age of 39. This was a difficult decision, but after talking with her priest she was relieved to find that he would not condemn her for using contraceptives to regulate her menstruation, even though infertility was a side effect.[63]

Stories dealt with a woman's solution to or a personal opinion "about any problem that concern you as a woman, mother, wife, homemaker, or

citizen" in 1970. One reader wrote how she broke away from her family in "I Was Single, Unattached - And Trapped."[64] She was a college senior and in order to make the break she got herself an apartment and a car. It was not that she no longer wished to associate with her family, but she felt it was time for her to be on her own.

And by 1975, stories related to the way the reader handled a personal dilemma or conflict "in any area that concerns you as a young woman, mother, wife or citizen."[65] In one 1975 issue, the mother was trying to teach her daughter that girls could do anything that boys could do. However, she found this a difficult task as there was little representation of girls in children's books. Her solution was to take her daughter places to meet women who were in traditionally male roles.[66]

Following guidelines for how the reader as "a citizen or consumer handles a problem in your community," one woman took it upon herself to educate the children in her neighborhood in safety in 1980. She created a "school" that taught children about police officers, bike safety, street crossing safety, and concluded with a graduation ceremony. The program lasted four days and was considered a success in her community.[67]

In 1985, the emphasis of the stories had again changed. No longer interested in the community at large, the column focused more on "practical and useful information on how you as a mother are solving the

problems of marriage and family life."[68] One woman wrote about "The Night My Marriage Crashed." Her husband had been in a car accident that rendered him handicapped. The story told of how she had to readjust to this new lifestyle and the changes her husband went through.[69]

And in 1990, the criteria are not even mentioned, but the subjects are still based on family relationships. In the January issue, one reader wrote about how she was accused of abusing her baby. Her child's bones kept breaking, but there was no evidence of bone disease. The child was taken and placed in a foster home. Eventually it was discovered that the child had osteogenesis imperfecta.[70] Other relationships examined included that of a surrogate mother. The reader had agreed to be a surrogate mother, but when she gave birth to twins she could not bear to have the two separated.[71]

Other topics. Other topics included ideas for the home, entertainment tips, current fashion and make-up styles, and countless recipes for every taste. A woman's house made a statement about her and this could be important for one who was considering entertaining in the home. Suggestions for a successful party included: proper etiquette for guests in attendance; only the best whisky, but if you could not afford this then opt for rum; it was important not to let the boss think that the husband is overpaid by having a lavish affair; and if a television is

anywhere in view, pull the plug and claim that it is out of order because the television has potential to cause distraction.[72]

Other tidbits of information and helpful hints could be found throughout the years. In 1965, such tips included how to keep your range clean. Cleaning was also a concern in 1970, and different cleaners were suggested for different functions. In 1975, Redbook offered a guide to the new cooking ranges. It also had advice for cooking and entertaining on a budget. In 1980, ways to make an extra $1000 were suggested during this inflation or in any period. Tips for choosing the right pair of glasses for your face shape were suggested in 1985. By 1990 we are back to budgets with fashions that are stylish, yet inexpensive.

Beauty and fashion were common features in Redbook from 1965 to 1990. These were most common in the summer editions, with tips for summer care for skin and hair. In 1965, a group of women talked with a Redbook writer collecting the readers' tips for hair, skin and make-up. One woman commented that when her husband and children notice, "that's when its well worth it."[73] In 1985, the magazine had a make-up quiz to test whether or not your make-up reflected the real you. With each season's new fashion, there were features on how to wear the latest styles. And for each new style there was a section with figure slimming tricks, in case the styles were not the most flattering.

And if the reader was interested in losing weight in order to wear the skin tight pants, then Redbook had regular features suggesting diets and recipes. But diets could not do the trick alone, so exercises, complete with diagrams were encouraged. Exercise was also the best way to combat tiredness. Tiredness is "a signal that something is wrong," and eating better and exercise are the key to having more energy.[74]

DISCUSSION

As women's relationships changed so did the advice given by Redbook. Relationships did not become a hot topic until 1975 when there was an increasing number of women in the work force. It was then that Redbook advised readers to not cause trouble if they really liked their job. Relationships with men at work were not recommended; however, the magazine had much to say about relationships outside the office. In the 1980s, the emphasis was on marital bliss, complete with quizzes to see if the reader's own relationship was in good shape. Writers even recommended how to go about choosing the right mate in 1985. And of course, there were tips for making one's sex life better.

The attitude toward sex definitely changed during the 25 year period studied. Various forms of birth control were endorsed, and even family planning was suggested. If one had a sexual conflict, one author in 1970 suggested an extramarital affair, although this may only intensify the

problem. This would have not been suggested in the late 1980s with the AIDS epidemic. Instead the emphasis was placed on techniques for a better sex life.

The advice on children seemed to have no time bias, as suggestions in 1970 could just as easily be used in 1980 or 1990. Dr. Spock continues to give the articles an authority, as he is a well-known specialist in this area. Other authors also had recommendations for discipline, misbehavior, and sex roles.

"Young Mother's Story" also had regular coverage, but it was here that changes in attitudes were most evident, especially in the criteria set by Redbook. The stories did not necessarily relay certain recommendations to other readers, but instead told how they were solving the problems of being a woman. In 1965, problems of a young mother and how she dealt with them were published. By 1970, the emphasis was changes to any solution or personal opinion about any problem that concerned women. This broadened the stories from home to include office. The criteria changed in the next five years by including stories dealing with the way the reader handled a dilemma in any area that concerned women, mothers, wives or citizens. The role of the women was considered one of citizen and consumer in 1980. By 1985, there was a swing back to the family emphasis and how women were dealing with marriage and

family life. And by 1990, the criteria has vanished, but the topics remain similar just the same.

The above mentioned topics had the most coverage by far. Dr. Spock had a regular column, and relationships and sex were covered in almost every edition. Other topics were used somewhat sporadically and did not occupy a permanent space in the departments.

It was interesting to note the change in the language used in the articles. A child was continuously referred to as "he" until 1985, when contained the first article studied that referred to the child as "she." In most of the articles by Dr. Spock, nonsexist language was used, and the child was simply referred to as the "child," but this is another study in itself.

As the role of the woman in our society changed, the type of advice written for her also varied. Redbook tended to weigh more heavily on the relationship of the woman in the home. This is most evident in the series "Young Mother's Stories," as each year the criteria for the articles is how the reader deals with family or marriage problems or situations. This is despite the fact that women continued to become more and more active in the work force during this time. Relationships in the office were barely touched upon, but advice for family life seemed constant throughout the years. Another common topic was sex, probably because sex topics

generate sales on the newsstand. The attitude toward sex changed in the early 1980s to improving your sex life from testing the compatibility of the reader and mate. This could be in response to the rising awareness of AIDS.

From 1965-1990, Redbook changed as the role of women in American society changed. The changes women faced were often reflected in the advice given by the magazine. The changes in attitudes were also evident by the topics of the articles, and by the articles written by the readers. The only consistencies were the similar areas discussed: relationships, sex, children and medicine. These factors remained constant in most issues, which suggests that these are issues facing women through all time. As women's roles changed, the advice and attitudes of this magazine changed to keep women aware of their evolving role in and outside of the home.

TABLE A
REDBOOK TOPICS: 1965-1990
NUMBER OF ARTICLES PER TOPIC

	RELATIONSHIPS	SEX	CHILDREN	MEDICINE
JANUARY 65	—	—	1	—
JULY 65	1	—	1	1
JANUARY 70	—	1	2	1
JULY 70	—	1	2	1
JANUARY 75	1	—	2	—
JULY 75	2	1	1	—
JANUARY 80	1	1	—	2
JULY 80	1	1	—	1
JANUARY 85	2	2	2	2
JULY 85	2	1	2	1
JANUARY 90	2	—	1	2
JULY 90	1	3	1	1

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A Quantitative Analysis of U.S. Consumer Magazines: Baseline Study and Gender Determinants

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ABSTRACT

A Quantitative Analysis of U.S. Consumer Magazines: Baseline Study and Gender Determinants

Most consumer magazines published in the United States are gender-specific. Though some publications have "joint" readerships, a majority of magazines published today are clearly targeted at either male or female audiences. Two factors might explain this delineation by gender: The editorial subjects covered by most conventional magazines are often of predominant interest to only one gender; and many products and services sold in the United States are segmented by gender, and this is particularly true for those products that have traditionally used magazines as national advertising vehicles.

Despite the pivotal role by gender, however, in both the editorial positioning and advertising prospects of any magazine, it has been the object of little scholarly attention. Indeed, it can be argued that magazines as a subject for academic research have typically drawn less consideration than other communications media. As a result, no clear normative view of consumer magazines as a whole exists in the research literature.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: (a) to provide a baseline quantitative overview of contemporary U.S. consumer magazine publishing, and (b) to statistically test the thesis that there is a causal relationship between the gender of reader audience and a number of quantitative measures applicable to magazine publishing, e.g. circulation size, frequency of publication, reader age, cover price, and price charged for advertising. Additionally, it examines the relationship between reader gender and magazine category by subject matter.

For scholars wishing to further pursue similar quantitative analyses, the derived dataset upon which this study was based is also included.

A Quantitative Analysis of U.S. Consumer Magazines: Baseline Study and Gender Determinants

A majority of consumer magazines published in the United States are gender-specific. Though some publications, typically news magazines and a number of association and regional publications, have "joint" readerships, most magazines are clearly aimed at either male or female audiences.[1]

A pair of factors, one sociocultural and one economic, might explain the prevalence of this delineation by gender. First, the editorial subjects covered by most conventional magazines are often of predominant interest to only one gender, e.g. males and hunting, or women and needlecrafts. Second, many products and services sold in the United States are segmented by gender, and this is particularly true for those products that have traditionally used magazines as national advertising vehicles.[2] Indeed, many of the national consumer magazines that charge the highest advertising rates, thereby implying that they offer advertisers the most desirable potential readers/customers, are gender-specific publications, e.g. the high fashion

women's magazines or men's magazines focused on expensive hobbies such as private aviation.[3]

Despite the pivotal role by gender, however, in both the editorial positioning and advertising prospects of any magazine, it has been the object of little scholarly attention. Most studies have been the work of journalism historians, and their principal focus has been on 19th-century developments.[4] Indeed, it can be argued that magazines as a subject for academic research have typically drawn less consideration than either television or newspapers. As a result, no clear normative view of consumer magazines as a whole exists in the research literature.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: (a) to provide a baseline quantitative overview of contemporary U.S. consumer magazine publishing, and (b) to test the thesis that there is a causal relationship between the gender of reader audience and a number of quantitative measures applicable to magazine publishing, e.g. circulation size, frequency of publication, reader age, cover price, and price charged for advertising. Additionally, it will examine the relationship between reader gender and magazine category by subject matter.

Method

An nth-name sort (nth=7) of the index (2,645 entries) of the 27 March 1991 edition of Standard Rate and Data

Service's Consumer Magazine and Agri-Media Rates and Data Directory of U.S. consumer magazines was performed, yielding a random sample of 377 entries. Every magazine in the sample was then contacted by telephone, and the quantitative data (gender of readership, median reader age, paid circulation, frequency of publication, cover price, and advertising rates) on each publication were updated and confirmed. Magazines that either had ceased publication or were published with a frequency less than quarterly (e.g. semiannually or annually) were removed from the sample, resulting in a dataset containing a total of 228 titles. Though generally regarded as the standard industry reference, the SRDS Directory does have a limitation as data source that should be noted: Only those publications that accept advertising are included in the directory.

Based on a broadly defined commonality of subject matter suggested by the 67 categories employed by SRDS, the 228 magazines in the sample were then categorized into nine clusters: Sports/Hobbies, Travel/Regional, Association, General/News, Family/Home/Shelter, Lifestyle/Fashion, Science/Health; Youth/Other, and Business/Finance.[5] To satisfy assumptions of certain statistical tests, these nine clusters were then "collapsed" into seven categories. When this was required, a certain inherent logic was applied, e.g. General/News and Association together, and Business/Finance combined with Science/Health.

Once the random dataset was coded and categorized, a variety of statistical tests were performed. The goal was to (a) derive a baseline set of normative generalizations about consumer magazines as a whole, and (b) examine the relationships between reader gender and a number of other quantitative variables. Where possible, the significance and strength of the relationships were calculated, and relationships were not considered statistically significant if the probability (p) was larger than five percent. Nominal variables were tested using Chi-Square non-parametric tests, with the strength of the relationships measured using Cramer's V (V). Interval variables were tested using the T-test and/or an analysis of variance (ANOVA), and the strength of relationships was measured by Eta Squared (E^2).

Results

Magazine Overview:

Approximately 12,000 different periodicals of all types are published in the United States. Somewhat less than 2,000 of these, representing a total circulation of over 700 million readers, can be considered consumer magazines.[6] In terms of individual circulations, consumer magazines range in size from the Sunday supplement Parade (35.3 million) and American Association of Retired Person's monthly, Modern Maturity (22.4 million), to small specialized publications with only a few hundred readers.[7] The average (mean)

circulation of all American consumer magazines is 442,851. Due to a large number of magazines with quite small readerships, however, the median circulation of U.S. consumer magazines is only 86,000 readers. Almost forty percent of all consumer magazines are published monthly, and the median cover price is $2.50.

FIGURE 1, TABLE 1 AND FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

The price charged for advertising is a function of both the size of the individual medium's audience and the attractiveness of that audience to advertisers. The median "page rate" for a black-and-white advertisement in consumer magazines is just under $2,600. However, the price of advertising is perhaps more usefully expressed in terms of "cost per thousand" (cpm) readers or viewers. For magazines, the cost is, once again, that of a full-page black-and-white advertisement; for television, a 30-second commercial. For comparison, network television's cpm is typically below $5, a figure which, not coincidentally, is also the cpm of TV Guide. Large general-interest magazines such as Reader's Digest and Ladies Home Journal have cpm's below $15, and the newsweeklies such as Time and Newsweek cluster around $20. The more specialized the audience, however, the more a magazine can charge. As a result, magazines serving special reader interests often have cpm's two or three times that of the newsmagazines, and the industry's median cpm is $32.

FIGURES 3 AND 4 ABOUT HERE

Gender Analysis:

More than two thirds of all consumer magazines are gender-specific.[8] Viewed as a whole, 41.7 percent of all magazines are aimed at male readers, 27.2 percent are women's magazines, and the balance (31.1 percent) have joint readerships.

CIRCULATION: Of particular interest is the fact that the average circulation of magazines for men is 206,937, while the mean readership of women's publications, 469,113, is notably higher. Similar differences are also reflected in the median values.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

T-tests of these gender-related differences in circulation suggest that the relationships, while not of great strength, are indeed statistically significant.[9] Additional analyses, however, using the Chi Square test to compare magazines by gender with groupings by circulation (0-50,000, 50,000-100,000, 100,000-500,000, 500,000 and higher) indicate that the relationship between gender and circulation is both statistically significant and modestly robust.[10]

As a result, though it cannot be claimed with any certainty that gender alone determines the size of a given

magazine's circulation, there seems to be a clear and statistically significant relationship between the gender of a magazine's readership and its circulation, with female publications generally enjoying notably more readers than male magazines.

OTHER QUANTITATIVE MEASURES: Subsequent tests reveal no statistical significance in the relationship between reader gender and a number of the other variables under consideration, i.e. publication frequency, reader age, and CPM. The comparison of means indicated in Table 3 suggests why this is so. With only small variations by gender, little evident effect is possible. For example, the mean reader age of male publications is 38.9 years; of female magazines, 40.1.[11] As an aside, however, the age distribution of all magazine buyers plotted in Figure 6 does suggest a notable, and largely unreported, skew toward older readers.

TABLE 3 AND FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE

With two other variables, cover price and the price charged for a full-page black-and-white advertisement (the "page rate"), there are statistically significant but notably weak relationships with reader gender.[12] In the case of average cover prices, the most telling variation is between gender-specific magazines (male $2.74, female $2.85) and publications with joint readerships ($1.95).[13] And while there is a marked difference between the mean page

rates of male ($5,343.52) and female ($9,393.16) magazines[14], it is possible that this is not directly determined by gender per se. Rather, the primary determinant of page rates may simply be raw circulation size, and since publications for females tend to have larger circulations (see Table 2 above), it would follow that their average page rates would be proportionately larger. "Corrected" for circulation differences by using the CPM figure (see Table 3 above), the variations (male $38.16, female $37.55) are statistically insignificant.

SUBJECT MATTER: A last area of investigation is the possible relationship between reader gender and magazine category based on subject matter. Using a developed categorization scheme summarized in Table 4, it is noteworthy that the two largest categories, Sports/Hobbies (32.0 percent) and Travel/Regional (19.3 percent) account for over half of the entire population of consumer magazines.

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

After a further categorization refinement to meet test requirements,[15] an analysis using the Chi-Square test to compare magazine gender with subject-matter-category suggests that the relationship between gender and category is both statistically significant and quite strong.[16]

Some categories of subject matter are unsurprisingly gender-specific: Family/Home/Shelter and Lifestyle/Fashion

magazines are female, while Sports/Hobbies publications have disproportionately male readerships. But there are also a number of suggestive anomalies. For example, women are well represented in the Business/Science/Health category. And while males are under-represented in Youth/Other, there is a small but clear male component in the Lifestyle/Fashion category.

FIGURE 6 ABOUT HERE

Discussion

The four statistically significant gender-related aspects of U.S. consumer magazines (number of titles, circulation, cover price, and subject matter) provide insights into some of the economic fundamentals of publishing. Moreover, they may also serve to illuminate a number of the prevailing sociocultural dimensions of contemporary America.

Gender and Number of Magazines:

It is possible that the greater number of magazines targeted at male audiences (41.7 percent compared to 27.2 percent for females) is a result of a greater diversity and segmentation of interests among males. Sports/Hobbies, a predominantly male category (male 53 titles, female 15) certainly offers evidence in support of the generalization. (See Figure 13). The aphorism concerning "boys and their toys" may indeed contain a measure of truth. And because the advertising market for each genre of "toy" (e.g. boats,

cars, planes, guns, etc.) can support its own publications, the total number of titles is greater.

Gender and Circulation Size:

At first glance, it might seem that the larger average circulation of female magazines (469,113 compared to 206,937 for male publications) is merely a function of the number of titles. If the total number of male and female readers of gender-specific magazines were equal, the availability of fewer female titles would, by simple arithmetic, result in more female readers per female publication.

Though this argument has a certain logical simplicity, it fails to explain an important underlying reality: The total number of male and female readers of gender-specific magazines is <u>not</u> equal. Indeed, the aggregate total circulation of all female magazines is almost fifty percent larger than that of male publications, a difference of almost 66 million readers.[17] Simply put, more females read magazines. And while it is possible that there is a quality of communality, or of desired confirmation, inherent in the readership of female magazines, the question remains open.

Gender and Cover Price:

It is likely that the marked differences between the average cover prices of gender-specific publications (male $2.74, female $2.85) and magazines with a joint readership ($1.95) are largely the result of market forces at the

newsstand. Joint-readership publications are often more dependent on single-copy newsstand, rather than subscription, sales. As a result, market competition at the newsstand, particularly between joint publications themselves, may work to keep their cover prices relatively low. Additionally, a number of joint magazines are distributed free to their readers, thereby lowering the group's average price. (See Figure 2).

Gender and Subject-Matter Category:

While somewhat speculative in nature, a number of sociocultural inferences might be drawn from the results of the analysis relating gender to subject matter (see Figure 8). For example, the full representation of female-specific magazines in the Business/Finance/Science/Health category may reflect the increasing participation by women in nontraditional roles.

The underrepresentation of gender-specific magazines for young males (Youth/Other) may be due to the decline of the comic book in the Age of Television. Conversely, another factor might be the recent concerted efforts by advertisers to reach young females, thereby creating an enlarged economic base for magazines targeted at girls.

The small but significant male component in the Lifestyle/Fashion category might be explained by a variety of recent sociocultural changes. These could include changing sociocultural definitions of "manhood" and a number

of successful magazines for males in this category with largely gay readerships.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that gender-specificity is an important determinant in the shape of the U.S. consumer magazine industry. Though there are more publications specifically aimed at male readers, they tend to be significantly smaller in circulation than women's magazines. Moreover, there is often a strong, and at times quite suggestive, relationship between the gender of a magazine's audience and its subject matter.

For the purpose of expanding this study's conclusions about the nature of the gender determinants in U.S. consumer magazines, it would be interesting to place the same questions in a historical context. This could be accomplished by drawing study samples from archival sources such as back issues of the Standard Rate and Data Service directory.

FIGURE 1

Histogram Frequency: Circulations of U.S. Consumer Magazines

(N=228)

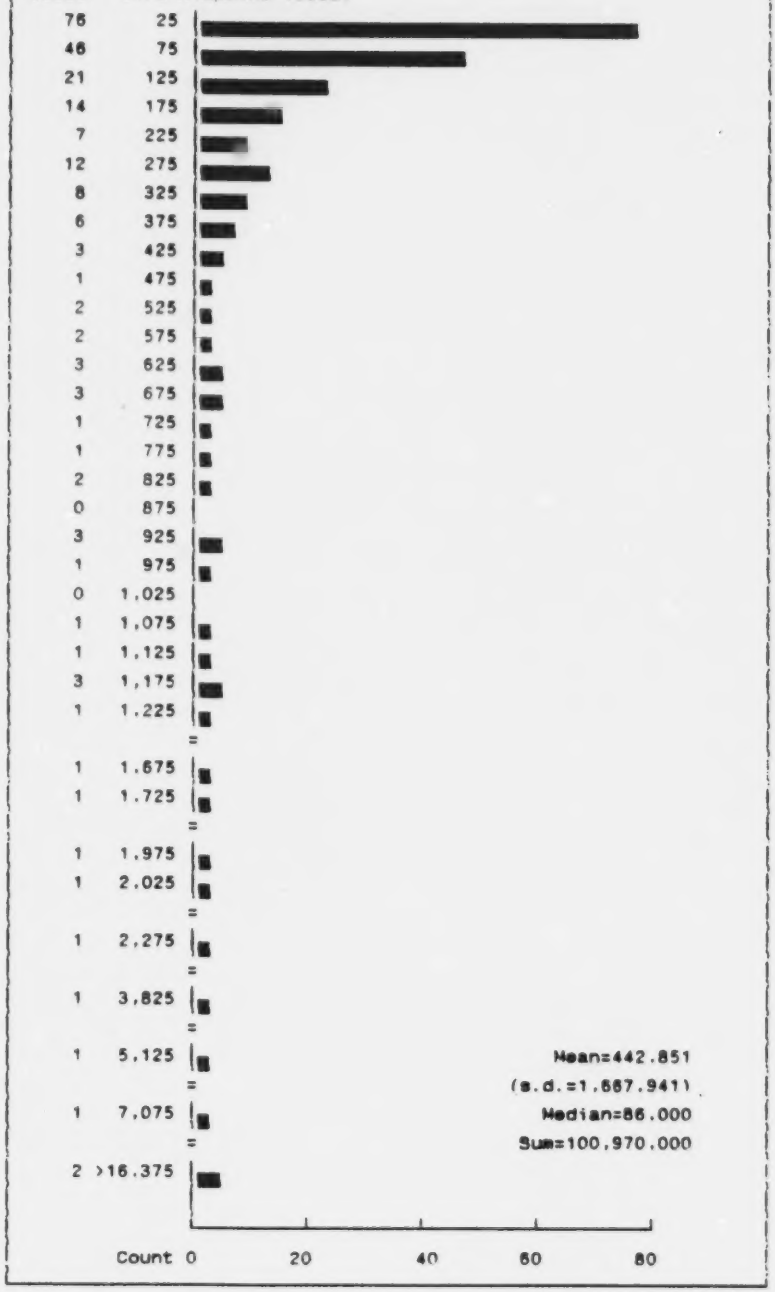


TABLE 1
Distribution by Publication Frequency
of U.S. Consumer Magazines (N=228)

Frequency[a]	4x	5x	6x	7x	8x	9x	10x	11x	12x	13x
% of Total Population	10.1	2.6	18.9	1.3	3.5	2.2	4.8	3.5	39.9	0.9
Frequency	14x	16x	17x	18x	22x	25x	30x	43x	51x	52x
% of Total Population	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.9	2.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	5.7

Note: Mean=12.7 (s.d.=11.2), Median=12.0, Minimum=4.0
[a] Indicates number of issues published per year.

FIGURE 2
Histogram Frequency: Cover Prices of U.S. Consumer Magazines (N=227)

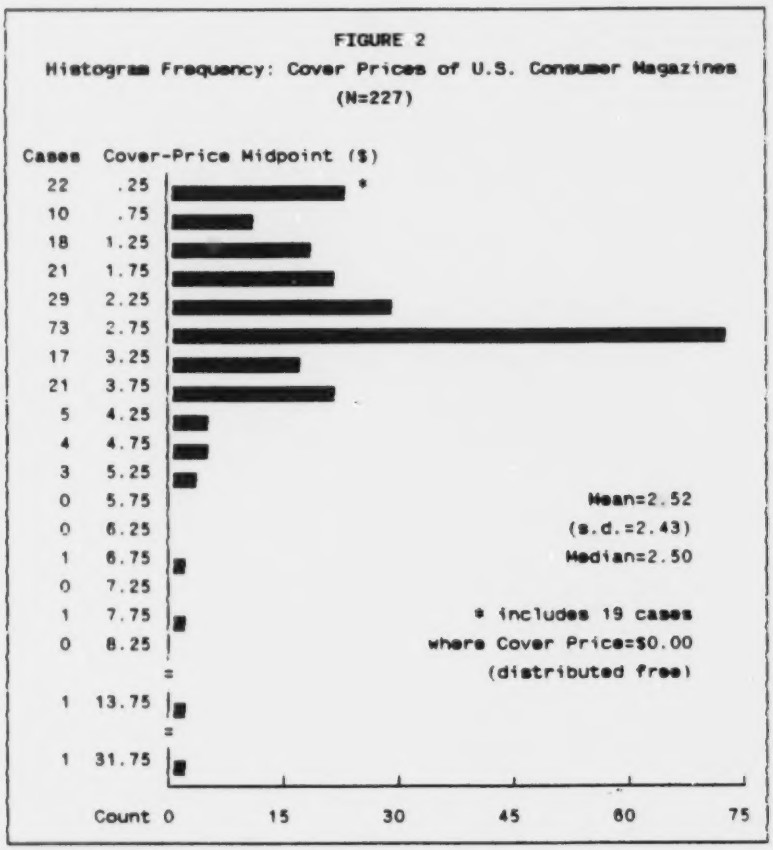


FIGURE 3

Histogram Frequency: 1-Page, 1-Time, B&W Advertising Rates of U.S. Consumer Magazines (N=228)

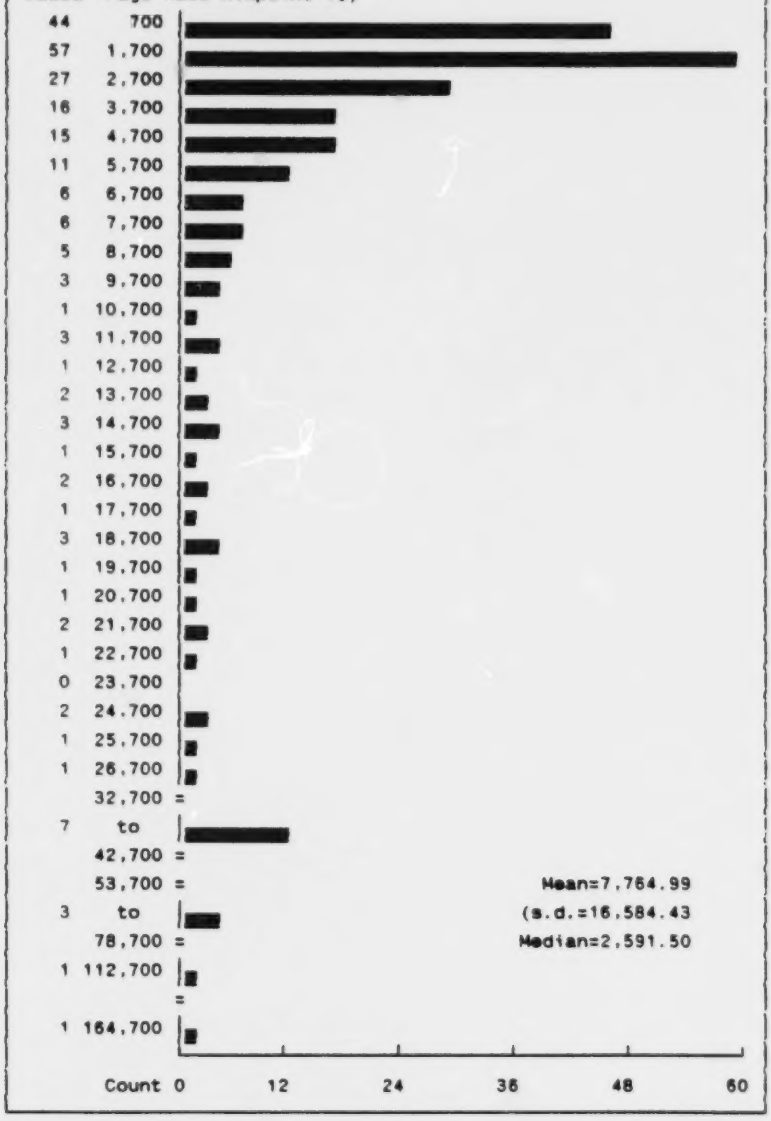


FIGURE 4

Histogram Frequency: Advertising Cost Per Thousand (CPM)
of U.S. Consumer Magazines (N=228)

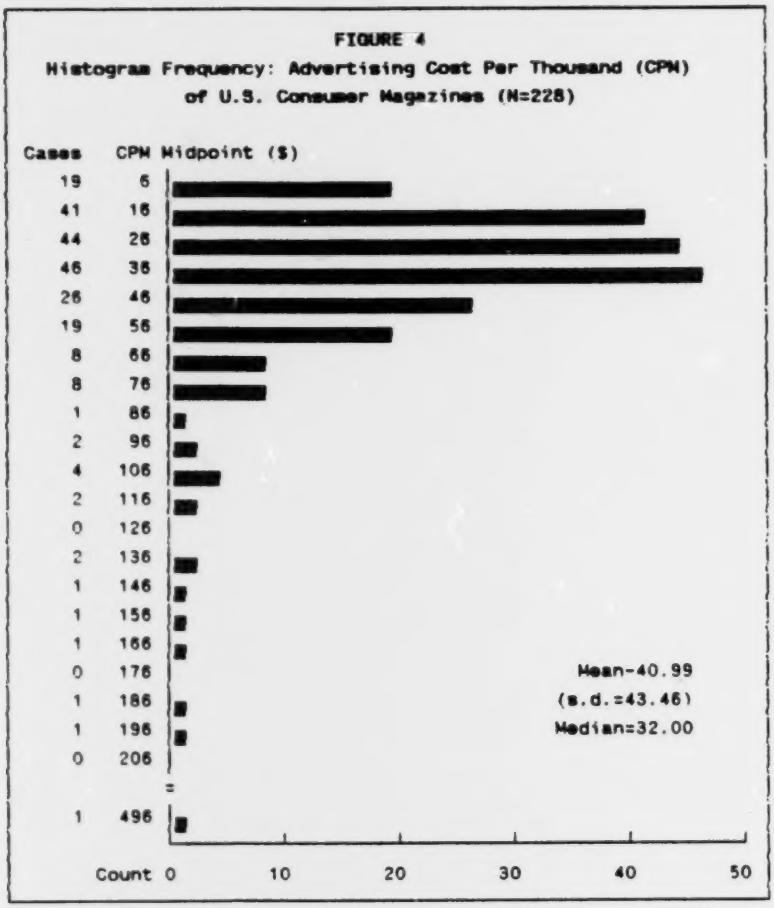


TABLE 2

Statistics, Circulation by Reader Gender
of U.S. Consumer Magazines (N=228)

	Male	Female	Joint
Mean	206,937	469,113	735,577
S.d.	361,228	869,469	2,832,785
Median	78,000	105,500	100,000
Minimum	4,000	10,000	1,000
Maximum	2,016,000	5,147,000	16,555,000
Sum	19,659,000	29,085,000	52,226,000
N	(95)	(62)	(71)

TABLE 3

Comparison of Mean Values, by Reader Gender

of U.S. Consumer Magazines (N=228)

	All	Male	Female	Joint
Frequency	12.7	13.3	12.9	11.7
Reader Age	39.9	38.9	40.1	40.9
Cover Price	$2.52	$2.74	$2.85	$1.95
Page Rate	$7,765.00	$5,343.52	$9,393.16	$9,583.23
CPM	$40.99	$38.16	$37.55	$47.79
N	(228)	(95)	(62)	(71)

FIGURE 5

Histogram Frequency: Reader Age of U.S. Consumer Magazines

(N=197)

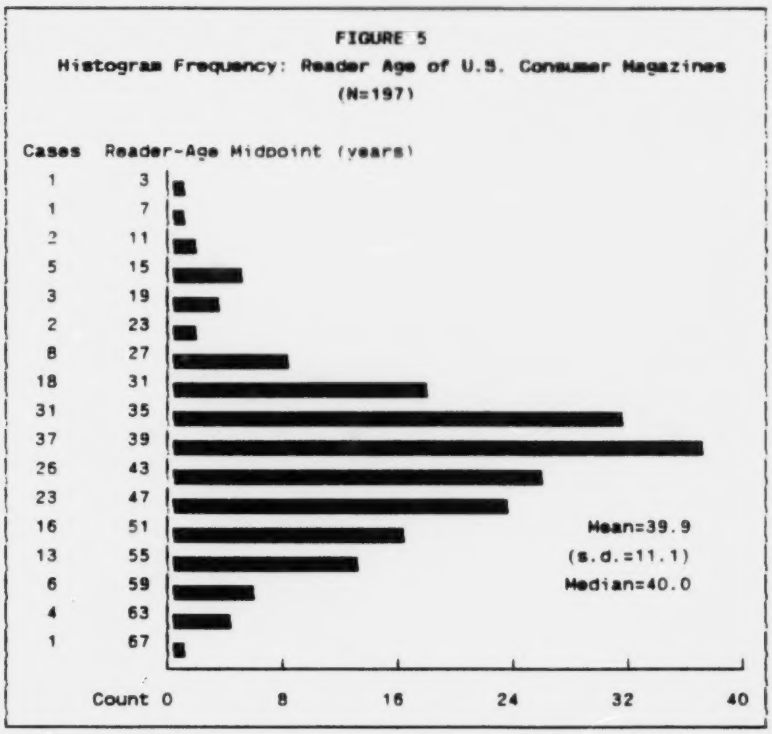
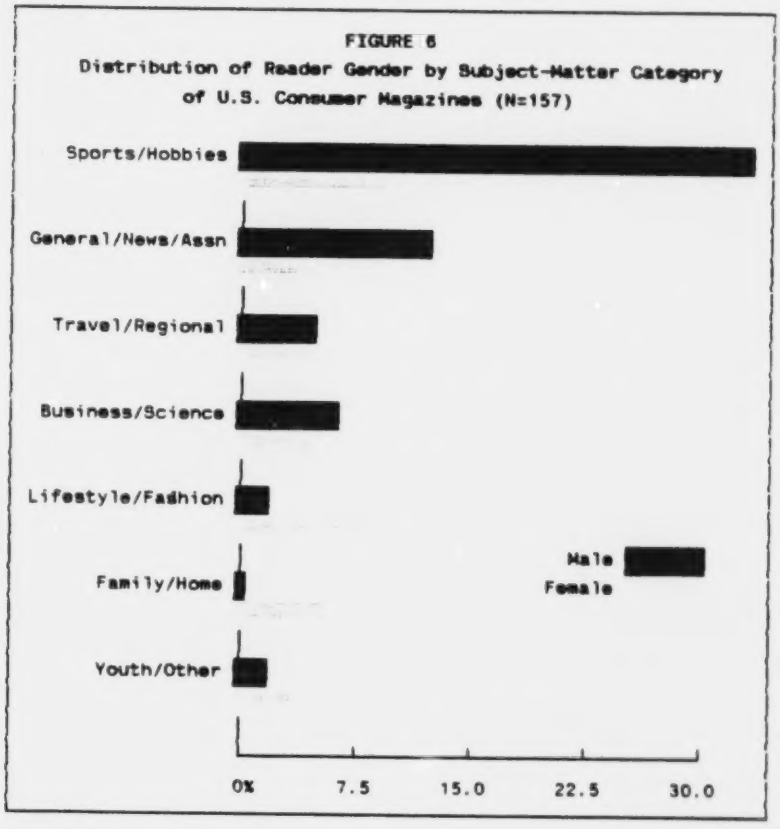


TABLE 4
Distribution by Subject-Matter Category
of U.S. Consumer Magazines (N=228)

Category	Percent	N
Sports/Hobbies	32.0	(73)
Travel/Regional	19.3	(44)
Association	8.8	(20)
General/News	8.8	(20)
Family/Home/Shelter	8.3	(19)
Lifestyle/Fashion	7.9	(18)
Science/Health	5.3	(12)
Youth/Other	5.3	(12)
Business/Finance	4.4	(10)

FIGURE 6
Distribution of Reader Gender by Subject-Matter Category
of U.S. Consumer Magazines (N=157)



1. For the purposes of this study, if gender-specificity<60%, a magazine can be characterized as having a "joint" readership.

2. See Alan D. Fletcher and Paul D. Winn, "An Inter-magazine Analysis of Factors in Advertising Readership," *Journalism Quarterly* 51:425-430 (Autumn 1974); and Steven R. Malin, "An Empirical Investigation of Magazine Advertising Cyclesm," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1980.

3. Charlene Canape, "Refashioning the Male Marketplace," *Marketing & Media Decisions*, March 1985, pp. 84-86. See also Chung, Han-Soo. "Consumer Information-Seeking Behavior and Magazine Advertisements," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1988.

4. See Helen Mary Damon-Moore, "Gender and the Rise of Mass-Circulation Magazines," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1987; and Mary Ellen Waller, "Popular Women's Magazines, 1890-1917," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1987.

5. The SRDS categories were grouped using the following scheme: SPORTS/HOBBIES (Automotive; Aviation; Boating; Campers & Recreational Vehicles; Camping & Outdoor Recreation; Dogs & Pets; Crafts, Games, Hobbies & Models; Dancing; Fishing & Hunting; Gaming; History; Horses, Riding & Breeding; Music; Mystery, Adventure & SciFi; Motorcycle; Photography; Sports). TRAVEL/REGIONAL (Inflight & Enroute Entertainment Guides & Programs; Entertainment & Performing Arts; Hotel Inroom; Metro, State & Regional; Travel). ASSOCIATION (Civic; College & Alumni; Education & Teacher; Fraternal Clubs & Associations; Labor & Trade Union; Nature; Military & Naval; Religious & Denominational). GENERAL/NEWS (General Editorial-News; Literary, Reviews & Writing; Media & Personalities; News-Weekly; News-Daily, Biweekly, Other; Newsweeklies-Alternative; Newsletters; Newspaper Magazines; Political & Social). FAMILY/HOME/SHELTER (Babies; Bridal; Entertainment, Radio & TV; Dressmaking & Needlework; Gardening; Home Service & Home; Parenthood; TV & Radio; Women's-Family/Home). LIFESTYLE/-FASHION (Art & Antiques; Epicurean; Men's; Society; Women's-Lifestyle/Fashion; Women's/Men's Fashion & Beauty). SCIENCE/HEALTH (Fitness; Health; Mechanics & Science; Nature & Ecology; Science & Technology). YOUTH/OTHER (Children's; Comics; Gay; Sex; Youth). BUSINESS/FINANCE (Business & Finance; Computers).
In a few instances where a sample magazine's SRDS

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categorization was markedly at odds with reality, the publication was assigned to a more appropriate cluster.

6. A precise definition of "consumer magazine" is, of course, somewhat elusive. For the purposes of this study, a periodical must meet the following tests to be considered: It must be listed in the SRDS Consumer Magazine directory (and therefore must carry advertising), and it must be published with a frequency of four times a year or more. See also Marian Confer, *The Magazine Handbook* (New York: Magazine Publishers of America, 1990), p. 5.

The total readership of 700 million has been calculated by multiplying the circulation total in the study sample (see "Sum" note, Figure 1) by the "nth" value (nth=7) in the sampling sort: 100.97 million x 7 = 706.79 million.

7. Standard Rate and Data Service, *Consumer Magazine and Agri-Media Rates and Data*, March 27, 1991, pp. 246-259.

8. As noted in an earlier footnote, if the readership of a magazine is 60% or more of one gender, for the purposes of this analysis it will be regarded as a gender-specific publication.

9. T-test $p=0.03$, $E^2=0.04$.

10. Pearson X^2 $p=0.05$, Cramér's $V=0.22$.

11. S.d.=9.4 (male), 13.9 (female).

12. Cover Price: ANOVA $p=0.05$, $E^2=0.03$; Page Rate: T-test $p=0.03$, $E^2=0.04$.

13. S.d.=1.54 (male), 3.97 (female), 1.32 (joint).

14. S.d.=7,621.89 (male), 13,581.71 (female).

15. Ibid. Note: To address X^2 expected frequency requirements, no joint-readership publications were considered, and only gender-specific magazines were included.

16. Pearson X^2 $p=0.00$, Cramér's $V=0.47$. Note: While the cells with expected frequency<5 exceed the X^2 limit of 20%, the excess of only 1.4% is judged to have little effect on the test's validity.

17. Using the methodology outlined in Footnote 6 above, this calculation is based on the multiplication of sample sums (see Figure 7) by "nth" value (n=7). Aggregate totals=137,613,000 (male), 203,595,000 (female).

APPENDIX A

MAGSTATS DATASET
(1/1/92)

Dataset on U.S. Consumer Magazines, January 1992

Random sample (228 cases) derived from nth-name sort (n=7) from Standard Rate and Data Directory: 3/27/91.

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------------------------------Code Book-------------------------------
1-3 Case number
    5 Gender (1 male, 2 female, 3 joint i.e. <60% gender-specific)
      7-11 Circulation, 000's
           13 Aggregate category (1=Association, 2=General/News, 3=
              Family/Home, 4=Lifestyle/Fashion, 5=Business/Finance,
              6=Sports/Hobbies, 7=Science/Health, 8=Travel/Regional,
              9=Youth/Other)
            14-16 SRDS category (nn0=nn+null, nn1=A, nn2=nnB)
              18-19  Median reader age, years
                 21-24  Cover price (e.g. 0200=$2.00)
                      26-31  Page rate, 1xB&W (e.g. 005145=$5,145)
                             33-35  CPM, $ (page rate/circ)
                                37-38  Publishing frequency/year
                                   40  Audit circ? (1=yes, 2=no)
                                     42+  Magazine title

------------------------------Dataset---------------------------------

001 1 00095 1310 25 0200 005145  54 52 1 Air Force Times
002 2 00250 6340    0225 006080  24 13 1 Alfred Hitchcock's Mystery
003 1 00034 1420 55 0125 000850  25 43 2 America
004 2 00015 7350    0500 000800  53 05 2 American Birds
005 1 00011 6130 50 0150 000672  61 52 2 American Field
006 2 00806 7230    0195 016630  21 10 1 American Health
007 2 00828 1200 52 0075 008510  10 06 1 American Legion Auxiliary Nat. News
008 3 00087 8170 38 0000 002680  31 05 2 American Repertory Theater Guide
009 1 00040 6450 37 0295 002135  53 06 2 American Snowmobiler
010 2 00200 2220 58 0295 005170  26 06 1 Americana
011 3 00010 8301 40 0250 001190 119 12 2 Annapolitan
012 2 00060 4020    0075 001084  18 51 2 AntiqueWeek
013 2 00013 6250 35 0500 000400  31 12 2 Arabian Horse World
014 3 00154 1281 67 0100 004480  29 12 2 Arizona Senior World
015 2 00500 7230 62 0250 008600  17 06 2 Arthritis Today
016 2 00274 6020 50 0275 005405  20 12 1 Artist's
017 1 00054 6030 34 0200 002190  41 12 2 Automundo
018 3 00285 6450 37 0200 004400  15 08 2 Balls and Strikes
019 2 00600 9510 08 0195 012000  20 04 2 Barbie
020 1 00288 6450 30 0350 000950   3 12 2 Baseball Card Price Guide Monthly
021 1 00533 6190 35 0295 015490  29 10 1 Bassmaster
022 1 00019 6450    0200 000770  41 26 2 Bear Report
023 1 00104 5080    0200 003690  35 12 1 Better Investing
024 1 00020 6450 34 0250 000730  37 06 2 Billiards Digest
025 2 00020 8301 46 0350 002025 101 06 2 Boca Raton
026 2 00067 3381 35 0083 002400  36 12 2 Boston Parents' Paper
027 1 00164 6190 38 0295 002434  15 11 2 Bowhunting World
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028 1 00042 8460 51 0300 005700 136 11 2 Business Traveler International
029 3 07100 3302 37 0175 078485  11 12 1 Cable Guide
030 3 00026 3302    0000 000236   9 12 2 Cableview-Indianapolis
031 3 00357 8301 47 0200 014725  41 12 1 California
032 2 00010 6250 30 0295 000440  44 12 2 California Horse Review
033 1 00110 3470 35 0295 001399  13 08 1 Camcorder
034 1 00005 6450 25 0200 000500 100 06 2 Canoe & Kayak Racing News
035 1 00950 6030 30 0295 035460  37 12 1 Car and Driver
036 3 00250 5080 26 0250 025440 102 06 2 Career Focus
037 3 00027 3210 46 0200 000990  37 08 2 Carolina Gardener
038 2 00129 6130    0250 005043  39 12 1 Cats
039 2 00033 6110 45 0225 000660  20 10 2 Ceramics
040 1 00092 6030    0295 002295  25 06 2 Chevrolet High Performance
041 2 00073 3381 35 0116 002318  32 12 2 Chicago Parent Newsmagazine
042 2 00076 9510 09 0174 000800  11 08 2 Child Life, Ages 9-11
043 3 00050 4180 45 0295 001725  35 06 2 Chile Pepper
044 2 00220 1420 47 0250 002528  11 06 2 Christian Reader
045 2 00040 1420 56 0127 001200  30 11 2 Church Herald
046 2 00015 8301 38 0295 001635 109 04 2 CITI
047 3 00196 2220    0250 006168  31 09 2 Class
048 3 00042 8301 44 0195 003150  75 12 1 Cleveland
049 1 00075 6110 51 0195 001840  25 52 2 Coin World
050 3 00014 4020 50 0395 000620  44 09 1 Collector's Showcase
051 2 00023 8301 40 0250 001837  80 06 1 Colorado Homes & Lifestyles
052 1 00117 6190        001740  15 04 2 Columbia Waterfowl & Upland Game
053 1 00035 2220 54 0375 003190  91 12 2 Commentary
054 1 00340 5101    0295 007175  21 12 1 Computer Shopper
055 2 00700 2220 47 0250 017645  25 10 2 Country America
056 1 00004 6190 45 0125 000212  53 12 2 Dakota Outdoors
057 1 00045 1092 50 0300 001565  35 09 2 Dartmouth Alumni
058 1 00275 8460 44 0000 018750  68 06 1 Departures
059 3 00050 8301 39 0000 003622  72 12 1 Diablo
060 3 01082 9092 20 0000 021600  20 04 2 Directory of Classes
061 3 00085 1200    0200 002970  35 04 2 Discovery YMCA
062 3 00285 5080 34 0300 009495  33 06 2 Dollars & Sense
063 1 00074 8301 56 0295 001850  25 12 2 Down East
064 1 00321 6311 32 0350 013789  43 12 1 Easyriders
065 2 00250 6340    0225 006080  24 13 1 Ellery Queen's Mystery
066 1 00056 6060    0125 001980  35 12 1 Ensign
067 2 00039 6250 35 0750 001397  36 04 2 Equine Images
068 2 00255 4490 36 0250 004457  17 06 1 Executive Female
069 1 00054 6030 35 0295 001140  21 06 2 Fabulous Mustangs & Exotic Fords
070 2 05147 3490 44 0139 075470  15 17 1 Family Circle
071 2 00446 8301 40 0000 018310  41 06 1 Family Living
072 1 00170 6450 35 0350 002450  14 06 2 Fantasy Baseball
073 1 02016 6190 36 0195 041735  21 12 1 Field & Stream
074 1 00082 6110 40 0295 001850  23 08 2 FineScale Modeler
075 1 00117 6190 42 0250 004140  35 07 1 Fishing Facts
076 2 00021 8301 60 0200 001384  66 12 2 Florida Living
077 2 00573 3210 47 0295 008690  15 06 1 Flower & Garden
078 2 00050 4020    3200 009090 182 06 2 FMR
079 1 00063 6450 25 0295 000425   7 12 2 Football,Basketball,Hockey Collector
080 1 00115 2410 44 0695 005830  51 05 1 Foreign Affairs
081 1 00339 6030    0295 007545  22 12 1 Four Wheeler
082 1 00800 8460 33 0149 010500  13 06 1 Friends
083 1 00362 4300    0400 004325  12 12 1 Gallery
084 3 00125 7350 38 0395 003420  27 06 2 Garbage
085 1 00030 8301 39 0000 001800  60 04 2 Georgia
086 2 02300 4500 28 0250 042580  19 12 1 Glamour
087 1 00057 9510 11 0150 003450   5 12 1 Goofy Adventures
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088 3 00027 1420 34 0495 000910  34 05 2 Group's Junior High Ministry
089 1 00043 6030 32 0250 001080  25 06 2 Guide to Muscle Cars
090 2 00022 8301 47 0300 002550 116 10 1 Gulf Coast
091 1 00007 6190 40 0323 000299  43 04 2 Gun Show Calendar
092 2 00116 4490    0250 006328  55 08 2 Harper's Bazaar En Espanol
093 1 00205 5080 41 1350 012000  59 06 1 Harvard Business Review
094 3 00085 8010    0000 003505  41 12 2 Hawaiian Airlines
095 3 00150 5080 44 0200 006354  42 12 2 Hispanic Business
096 2 00925 3240 36 0195 024920  27 12 1 Home
097 1 00350 5080 42 0295 014340  41 12 1 Home Office Computing
098 3 00069 8301 46 0200 003455  50 12 1 Honolulu
099 2 00080 6250 24 0200 000900  11 12 2 Horse and Horseman
100 1 00047 6250 50 0300 001254  27 12 2 Horseman's Journal
101 1 00904 6030    0295 022970  25 12 1 Hot Rod
102 3 00200 3240 36 0295 007485  37 05 2 House Beautiful's Houses & Plans
103 1 00325 6190 34 0295 007700  24 12 1 Hunting
104 3 00270 8301 55 0300 002145   8 04 2 Illinois Farm Bureau Almanac
105 1 00126 5101 40 0395 006250  50 12 1 InCider A+
106 3 00070 8301 35 0225 004490  64 08 2 Inside Chicago
107 2 00095 6110 60 0295 001200  13 06 2 International Doll World
108 3 00014 3302    0000 000550  39 12 2 Jacksonville Public Broadcast News
109 1 00057 6330 36 0295 001600  28 10 2 Jazztimes
110 3 00700 9510 13 0000 009745  14 18 1 Junior Scholastic
111 3 00347 8301 40 0150 002800   8 12 1 Kentucky Living
112 2 01139 5080 58 0250 021855  19 12 1 Kiplinger's Personal Finance
113 3 00060 8010 37 0416 001850  31 06 2 Lacsa's World
114 3 00006 8301 40 0200 000950 158 12 2 LB Monthly
115 3 01713 2220 35 0295 054110  32 14 1 Life
116 1 00616 1091 56 0037 004438   7 10 2 Lion
117 3 00110 3240 40 0325 003370  31 06 2 Log Home Living
118 3 00172 8301 44 0250 007520  44 12 1 Los Angeles
119 2 01178 4500 29 0250 027160  23 12 1 Mademoiselle
120 3 00017 7230 37 0300 000898  53 10 2 Mainstream
121 2 01000 1281 54 0175 024225  24 06 1 McCall's Silver Edition
122 1 00278 7300    0295 012055  43 06 2 Men's Health
123 3 00130 6450 32 0195 004850  37 11 2 MetroSports
124 3 00372 8460 42 0050 004920  13 06 2 Midwest Motorist
125 2 00025 6110 55 0395 000895  36 04 2 Miniature Collector
126 3 00010 8301 35 0400 001650 165 04 2 Missouri
127 3 00040 4500 27 0200 002250  56 12 2 Models & Talent Internatl' Network
128 3 00110 2220 38 0295 004095  37 06 1 Mother Jones
129 1 00063 6450 23 0295 001895  30 12 1 Mountain Bike Action
130 1 00075 6030 33 0295 002618  35 12 2 Muscle Car Review
131 2 03803 2220 37 0085 039500  10 52 1 National Enquirer
132 1 00145 2410 49 0295 005230  36 26 1 National Review
133 3 00046 1310 35 0057 001536  33 52 2 Navy News
134 3 00025 8301 42 0200 001900  76 12 2 Network Publications-Manchester
135 1 00038 2220 44 0300 002000  53 12 2 New Dimensions
136 2 00070 9510 16 0000 001080  15 08 2 New Expression
137 1 00097 2410 44 0350 004500  46 52 1 New Republic
138 1 00107 2280 48 0225 006200  58 22 2 New York Review of Books
139 2 00050 8301 50 0200 003850  77 26 2 Newport Beach (714)
140 1 00123 6190 44 0300 002895  24 06 1 North American Fisherman
141 3 00052 8301 47 0150 002550  49 12 2 Northeast Ohio Avenues
142 2 00038 6110 45 0350 000850  22 12 2 Nutshell News
143 1 00528 1310 39 0000 012740  24 06 1 Off Duty-America
144 3 00380 8460 50 0020 004895  13 11 2 Ohio Motorist
145 3 00150 3240 41 0395 003050  20 06 1 Old-House Journal
146 3 00038 8301 42 0295 003250  86 12 1 Orange Coast
147 1 00071 6390 36 0395 002500  35 04 2 Outdoor & Travel Photography
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148 1 00028 7350 43 0350 002150  77 04 2 Pacific Discovery
149 2 00017 8301 58 0350 002410 142 12 2 Palm Beach Life
150 1 00020 6450 33 0200 000640  32 12 2 Parachutist
151 2 00075 3381 30 0125 001871  25 12 2 Parents' Press
152 1 00012 1420 43 0250 000730  61 11 2 PCA Messenger
153 3 00152 8301 47 0000 001746  11 12 1 Penn Lines
154 1 00078 1092 50 0300 002710  35 09 2 Pennsylvania Gazette
155 2 00035 6250 36 0295 001150  33 12 1 Performance Horseman
156 1 00060 6450 53 0200 003527  59 05 2 Philadelphia Golf
157 3 00057 3302 49 0000 001688  30 12 2 Phoenix KAET
158 1 00139 6390 30 0400 003900  28 06 2 Picture Perfect
159 2 00061 4020 40 0450 002130  35 06 2 Plate World
160 1 00028 6060 40 0250 001580  56 12 2 Pleasure Boating
161 1 01651 4300 38 0195 038095  23 12 1 Popular Mechanics
162 3 00034 7230 40 0375 001222  36 04 2 Positive Approach
163 1 00168 2220 44 0300 006450  38 06 1 Private Clubs
164 1 00054 6450 40 0300 001750  32 30 2 Pro Football Weekly
165 3 00068 6250    0275 001160  17 12 1 Quarter Horse Journal
166 2 00354 6110 50 0100 004000  11 06 2 Quick & Easy Crochet
167 1 00035 5101 32 0395 001550  44 12 2 Rainbow
168 3 16396 2220 46 0197 112660   7 12 1 Reader's Digest
169 1 00036 6450 37 0350 000730  20 12 2 Referee
170 3 00001 2410    0400 000500 500 04 2 Responsive Community
171 1 00030 8301 46 0250 001600  53 06 2 Richmond Flyer
172 1 00100 9330 17 0350 002565  26 12 1 RIP
173 3 00009 8301 38 0250 001750 194 12 2 Roanoker
174 3 00280 8301 45 0045 002030   7 12 1 Rural Georgia
175 2 00030 3240 55 0195 001550  52 11 2 San Antonio Homes & Gardens
176 2 00056 8301 33 0146 001786  32 52 1 San Jose Metro
177 3 00372 3470 51 0250 006400  17 52 1 Satellite TV Week
178 1 00237 7430 42 0100 004982  21 52 1 Science News
179 1 00023 7430    0223 001695  74 26 2 Scientist
180 2 00034 8301 37 0075 001640  48 52 1 Seattle Weekly
181 1 00300 8460 32 0000 000405   1 12 2 See the Florida Keys
182 3 00336 1281 63 0000 001575   5 12 2 Senior
183 3 00036 1281 63 0100 001440  40 12 2 Senior Times
184 2 01175 9490 04 0149 037044  32 10 1 Sesame Street
185 1 00010 6450 35 0195 000660  66 12 2 Silent Sports
186 1 00440 6450 32 0200 018435  42 07 1 Skiing
187 1 00027 6450 28 0075 001795  66 12 2 Slo-Pitch News
188 1 00022 6450 40 0195 002400 109 16 1 Snow Week
189 2 00200 3490 30 0250 001912  10 26 2 Soap Opera Update
190 3 00039 8301 44 0300 005100 131 12 1 South Florida
191 2 00075 4020 58 0450 006000  80 12 1 Southwest Art
192 1 00625 6450 36 0250 014950  24 52 1 Sporting News
193 1 00075 6450    0250 000765  10 12 2 Sports Card Trader
194 3 00100 2410    0080 003188  32 52 2 Spotlight
195 1 00115 1092 49 0450 003500  30 04 2 Stanford
196 1 00040 6030    0295 002042  51 04 2 Super Street Truck
197 1 00020 6450 32 0250 001190  60 07 2 Tavern Sports International
198 2 01163 9490 15 0225 016410  14 12 1 Teen Magazine
199 3 00332 8301 44 0100 002740   8 12 1 Tennessee
200 1 00033 6311 25 0295 001425  43 12 2 Three & Four Wheel Action
201 3 00160 4020 43 0125 002000  13 12 2 Toastmaster
202 1 00300 9510 18 0295 008000  27 04 2 Topps
203 1 00030 6450 40 0250 001400  47 12 2 Track & Field News
204 1 00046 6190 42 0325 000595  13 12 2 Trapper & Predator Caller
205 2 00650 6110 55 0149 001710   3 26 2 TV Crosswords
206 3 00065 9220 16 0000 001495  23 10 2 Twenty-First Century
207 3 00157 1092 39 0200 005396  34 04 2 UCLA
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208 1 00042 6450 34 0295 001753  42 12 2 Underwater USA
209 3 16555 2220 42 0000 164780  10 52 2 Usa Weekend
210 3 00272 8460 55 0295 005500  20 04 1 Vacations
211 2 00161 7230 40 0295 002775  17 12 2 Vegetarian Times
212 1 02000 1200 62 0200 014000   7 11 1 VFW
213 3 00653 7230 47 0295 010000  15 04 2 Vim & Vigor
214 2 01215 4500 31 0300 032410  27 12 1 Vogue
215 3 00049 6190 37 0295 001198  24 06 2 Walleye
216 1 00034 2410 47 0350 002000  59 10 2 Washington Monthly
217 3 00245 8170 47 0000 007285  30 12 2 Washington, DC Stagebill
218 3 00060 2280 32 0250 002195  37 06 2 West Coast Review of Books
219 3 00127 6190 55 0250 003342  26 09 1 Western Outdoors
220 1 00078 2220 47 0500 003100  40 04 2 Wilson Quarterly
221 1 00120 4180 44 0250 008310  69 22 1 Wine Spectator
222 3 00055 8301 47 0350 002145  39 06 2 Wisconsin Trails
223 2 00450 3240 38 0295 019440  43 04 2 Woman's Day Kitchens & Baths
224 2 00035 4490 29 0100 001699  49 12 2 Women's Record
225 1 00090 6110    0150 001175  13 12 2 Woodshop News
226 2 00725 4490 32 0195 020458  34 12 1 Working Mother
227 1 00200 6231    0295 002825  14 06 2 World War II
228 3 00028 9450 13 0075 001395  50 12 2 Youth Soccer News
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"You've Gone All the Way, Baby."
The Portrayal of Women in Playboy Cartoons

by

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Cartoonist Al Capp, who created "L"il Abner," said, "You can't write or draw anything without making some comment on society." Consequently, it can be argued that the cartoons found in Playboy magazine reflect the attitudes, values and fantasies held by the publication's audience, offering a male view toward and about women. This paper examines Playboy cartoons over a 15 year period from 1975-1990 as a way of studying male attitudes toward women, especially since all cartoons were drawn by male artists.

Changes in how women are depicted have occurred, though they are subtle. For example, while there are fewer cartoons showing women nude in 1990 compared to 1975, women continue to be shown with large breasts. However, by 1990, the ratio of women with large breasts to women shown with normal or small breasts is about the same. In 1975, almost all women in cartoons had voluptuous breasts and figures.

Cartoons in 1990 do show some women refusing sex, although the ones representing promiscuous females are still dominant. At least in the pages of Playboy's cartoons, women cannot be said to have come a long way.

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Virginia Slims has flooded magazine advertisement pages for months, promoting their slogan: "You've come a long way, baby." And, perhaps women have advanced themselves in a number of areas; however, only slight progress is documented in one of America's vehicles for the reflection of societal changes: the cartoon. The creator of *L'il Abner*, Al Capp, said, "You can't write or draw anything without making some comment on society."[1] Similarly, the cartoons found in *Playboy* magazine reflect the attitudes, values and fantasies held by the publication's audience. They reflect the adult male's views toward and about women.

The cartoon itself has not always been the bearer of society's truths or wishes. "The word *cartoon* originally described the plan or drawing on heavy paper used as a guide for a painting, mosaic, tapestry, or other work of art. Today the word means a drawing, usually humorous, that stands by itself as a work of art, however crude its origin or humble its purposes."[2] Over the years, art, in a variety of forms, has been studied for its value in reflecting the practices of different cultures. Specifically, the role of women in society has been reflected in art. Thus, *Playboy*'s cartoons provide viable sources for the study of the evolution of women through the eyes of men, especially because all were drawn by male artists.

Playboy, started in 1953 by Hugh Hefner, "is a specialized consumer publication appealing to a young, adult male audience."[3] "*Playboy* covers movies, music, sports, cars, video, fashion, and sophisticated entertaining."[4] The *Playboy* audience, in 1972, consisted of 7.2 million men, not counting passalongs.[5] The numbers have since decreased, possible because of government pressures placed upon the pornography market late in the Seventies, followed by the publishing of the Meese commission report on pornography published in the Eighties. Currently, *Playboy* has a circulation of 3.4 million.[6]

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[1] Roy Paul Nelson, **Cartooning** (Contemporary Books, Inc. Chicago, 1975), p.5.
[2] *Ibid.* p.3.
[3] Charles Leerhsen, "Aging Playboy" (*Newsweek*, August 4, 1986)
[4] *SRDS*, September 27, 1991, Volume 73, Number 9, p.388.
[5] Leerhsen, p. 51.
[6] *SRDS*, p.388.

The cartoon has appeared in *Playboy* since its first printing. *Playboy* 's cartoons depict not only sexual themes, but also seasonal humor and other anecdotes. If "people succumb to the fascination of comics, because they express so simply and directly the reader's fundamental wishes and inclinations,"[7] then conclusions can be drawn as to the views, beliefs and fantasies *Playboy*'s readers hold of women.

Although many sizes of cartoons have been present in *Playboy* throughout its history, the full page cartoons from selected issues of the 15-year period between 1975 and 1990 were chosen to study the changing image of the woman. The following years were selected: 1990, 1986, 1982, 1978 and 1975. These years were chosen because they were accessible on microfiche, preferable to hard copies since no pages can be removed. The most recent full year available, 1990, was chosen. Then, each issue moving back from 1990 in four year intervals was used. It was necessary to use 1975, because 1974 was not available. These magazines offered cartoons with widely ranging topics which changed slightly, but visibly, over time. These variations, as noted by historian Allen Novina, "throw light on changes in national mood."[8]

In the late Sixties and throughout the Seventies the pornography market flourished, giving *Playboy* the competition of *Penthouse*, established in 1969, and other similar publications, such as *Hustler* (1976) and *CHIC* (1976). In 1972, during the explosion of competition into the market, Hefner was accused of distributing drugs. The investigation ended when "his private secretary and former lover, Bobbie Arnstein was convicted of conspiracy to distribute cocaine."[9]

The women's movement was also strong at this time. The National Organization for Women (NOW) had begun in 1966 with only 300 members, but "by 1971, NOW had over 150 chapters and from 5,000 to 10,000 members. By late 1973, it had grown to about 30,000."[10] Other groups were also formed with the intentions to liberate women, causing the United Nations to declare

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[7] Reinhold Reitberger and Wolfgang Fuchs, **Comics: Anatomy of a Mass Medium** (Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1971), p.7.

[8] Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkempf, **A Century of Political Cartoons: Caricature in the United States from 1800 to 1900** (Charles Scribner's and Sons, New York, 1944), p.17.

[9] Leershen, p. 54.

[10] Barbara Sinclair Deckard, **The Women's Movement** (Harper & Row Publishers, New York, 1983), p. 326.

1975 International Women's Year. Shortly thereafter, in 1977, "With a membership of almost 60,000...NOW entered its second decade in good shape."[11]

In addition to continued pressure from the women's movement in the Eighties, *Playboy* faced government pressure from the 1986 Meese commission report published by the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography. This report, along with letters from the Justice Department, temporarily removed *Playboy* from several convenience-store chains. However, Hefner fought for his First Amendment right to an open market. "A federal judge agreed that he deserved just that...the Meese commission was ordered to rescind a letter that had gone out informing certain store operators that they had been 'identified as distributors of pornography' for carrying *Playboy*."[12] With these events in mind, the exploration of the cartoons in *Playboy* can be viewed in context.

In 1953, "Hugh Hefner announced he wanted to establish 'that nice girls like sex, too.'"[13] The sex-related cartoons in the issues studied certainly support Hefner's wish. The 1975 *Playboy*'s have the largest number of full page cartoons. These issues average 230 pages in length.[14] The typical female character is drawn nude or partially nude with a generous bust and hips, long hair, wide-open and long-lashed eyes, full lips and a certain aura of naivety. This last characteristic, along with her eternal youth, appear to be the keys to presenting her as a girl-next-door type. This depiction of a woman has not changed much over the 15 years studied. This female is placed in an array of situations—from the back seat of a car, to the obvious location of a bed, to the top of a pool table, to sharing a life preserver on the ocean. In many of the instances, she is the only character undressed.[15]

For this study, an undressed male is defined as having no clothing covering the genital area. An undressed female is defined as having no clothing covering the chest and genital areas for females. A partially dressed female is identified as wearing transparent clothing, or just a garter belt and

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[11] *Ibid.* p.373.
[12] Leershen, p. 51.
[13] *Ibid.* p.55.
[14] See Appendix 10.
[15] See Appendixes 1 and 3.

hose or being naked either in the chest or the genital area. A partially dressed male means his pants are down far enough to reveal his posterior.

The 1975 issue of *Playboy* contained many cartoons with the theme of orgies and swinging couples. Concerning cartoons as a reflection of society, in 1972, the "human's search for more intense sensory experience has led an estimated one to two million American men and women into conglomerate sexual activities."[16] For example, in one cartoon, a woman and a man are fornicating in the bedroom while another man and woman are fully clothed and on opposite sides of the living room. The woman in the bedroom says, "We can't keep meeting like this. My husband doesn't like your wife."[17] Another cartoon pictures an office with many couples fornicating. One man is on the phone; he says, "I won't be home for dinner tonight, Doris. Things are piling up here at the office."[18]

The issues in 1975 had cartoons portraying grade school boys yearning for the typical *Playboy* cartoon female. An example involves a classroom full of students in a circle painting. A nude woman poses in the middle of the group. One boy says to another, "Man, you can talk these substitute teachers into anything."[19] Another cartoon pictures a classroom of students with the teacher in front of the class. The boy in the front row looks disappointed as the teacher says, "We're still at the amoeba-splitting stage of our sex-education course, Randolph. I think discussion of the problems of premature ejaculation can wait."[20] Although the cartoons involving children are not intensely perverse, their disappearance may have been influenced by the growing social and political conservatism which led to the election of Ronald Reagan and the Meese commission report in the Eighties.

Although children are no longer represented as seekers of sex and women, the elderly as such do remain represented throughout the years. The depiction of a sex-starved old woman, who is consistently drawn with her hair pulled back in a bun, hunched over with sagging breasts and wrinkles, appears once every couple of issues. A consistent old man character starring

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[16] Helen Colton, **Sex after the Sexual Revolution** (Associated Press, New York, 1972), p. 156.
[17] *Playboy* (May 1975), p. 101.
[18] *Ibid.* (October 1975), p.142.
[19] *Ibid.* (May 1975), p. 159.
[20] *Ibid.* (February 1975), p.189.

opposite of her is not present. In one cartoon the elderly woman is standing beside a train that is being robbed. A man with a gun has his hands down her pants while she says, "Of course my valuables are in there, silly. There's nothing but money and jewelry in my purse."[21] Perhaps 'the greying of America,' which refers to the large number of aging people who compose a large part of the population, has influenced cartoonists to include the elderly in their satire.

The cartoons in 1975 and 1978 seemed to represent relatively the same outlook: sexual freedom. Cartoons in 1978 dealt with the same subjects as those in 1975, excluding children. Cartoons of 1978 showed women implying they wanted more sex. The examples of these types of cartoons vary greatly. One has a girl lying on an office desk, bearing the nameplate 'Carol,' fornicating with a man while another watches. The man watching calls to some other men who are in the hallway, "In here, everyone, we're Caroling!"[22] Another shows one girl in the doorway, one girl sitting on the couch, with a third girl in front of her saying, "Do come along, Babs! We're going to sell our bodies to strangers."[23] Still another cartoon has a man hanging off the side of a boat while a woman is pulling down his pants. He says, "For God's sake, Harriet, not now!"[24]

The topics in 1978 depict women relying on their sex, or the fact they will have sex, to advance themselves in the work force. For example, two girls are walking away from a stage where it says rehearsals are taking place. One woman says to the other, "I blew the test, but I got the part. I blew the director, too."[25] Later, in the year, a similar cartoon appeared. The scene is an office Christmas party. A woman is leading a man into an office. The door says, 'Jane W. Wilson, Vice President.' Two men comment, "My, how times have changed."[26] This cartoon is the only one that appeared in the years 1975 or 1978 showing a woman in a position of status; however, it implied she had 'slept her way to the top.' If, which was rarely, a woman was depicted in a

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21 *Ibid.* (June 1975), p.221.
22 *Ibid.* (January 1978), p. 229.
23 *Ibid.* (March 1978), p. 97.
24 *Ibid.* (August 1978), p. 125.
25 *Ibid.* (March 1978), p. 139.
26 *Ibid.* (December 1978), p. 187.

position, other than that of wife or girlfriend, it was usually that of a maid, secretary or prostitute.

Cartoons, such as the one depicting the woman as vice-president, represent women moving into the work place as more than just menial task aids. "Between 1973 and 1983, over 60 percent of the gain in the work force came from women who increased their labor force participation by 13.7 million, compared with an increase of 8.4 million by men."[27] However, the view of women in these positions, conveyed by the attitudes present in the *Playboy* cartoons, reflect that men of the late Seventies were not giving women any credit for their achievements. Perhaps this disturbing portrayal is the only way men could deal with their fear of women gaining more power in the work place. They seemed to rely upon the idea women had used sex to obtain their position, and since men seem to grant women the right to sexual power already, they did not have to face women were gaining more respect for their talents other than sex.

Between the years of 1975 and 1982, *Playboy* encountered some management changes, the most important one being Hefner's relinquishing of the company's presidency position to his daughter, Christie, in 1982. She introduced "'more physically fit' (in other words, relatively flat-chested) *Playboy* models."[28] Her influence on the centerfolds may have changed the women who were represented there, but the cartoons continued to draw women with relatively ample chests and hips. The exaggeration of these areas did seem to tone down slightly, but whether this decrease was because of Christie or because of the fitness rage in America, one cannot determine.[29]

Like the 1975 and 1978 issues of *Playboy*, the 1982 and the 1986 issues have striking similarities in representation and subjects covered. Also, while the former two averaged between 230 and 278 pages an issue, the latter two, excluding the January issues, averaged between 201 and 253 pages.[30] With the decrease in total amount of pages, came a decrease in the number of

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[27] Karen Shallcross Koziara, Michael H. Moskow and Lucretia Dewey Tanner, ed., **Working Women: Past, Present, Future** (The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1987), p. 19.

[28] Leershen, p. 51.

[29] See appendixes 7 A and 8.

[30] See appendix 10.

cartoons in each of the issues. The 1982 and 1986 issues contained a third to a half of the full page cartoons the 1975 issues ran.[31]

Some of the topics which carried over from the two earlier years were orgies, cheating on one's spouse and playing upon women's naivete. The attitudes toward these subjects became more conservative, except in the case of orgies. For example, a woman is sitting on a man's face amidst a crowd of fornicating people, and she's saying, "No, no, don't tell me--I never forget a face."[32] The representation portrays an acceptance of sexual freedom escapades, such as orgies. Social scientist's results of studying swinging reflect a "growing tolerance shown by monosexual individuals who are increasingly nonjudgemental of such practitioners."[33]

The views of cheating on one's spouse, however, are not the same. The first cartoon, shown in the January 1982 issue, is that of a wife walking in on her husband fornicating with a nimble blonde. She is furious, rather than being passive as wives in the past were portrayed. He says, "Oh, hell. I thought I was going to make it through the year without getting caught."[34] Another cartoon shows men's wives removing their bathing suits and getting into the swimming pool. One of them comments, "If this doesn't get them out of the kitchen, nothing will."[35] Still another pictures a woman in front of the Christmas tree with her husband. She is wearing a leather lingerie set while talking on the phone. She says, "Oh, the usual things, Momma—you know Tom always gets me clothes."[36] The latter two, although they contain nudity, promote the wife and husband together as a pair, rather than the swinging couples they were depicted as in the Seventies.

These cartoons, thus, represent the conservative move into the Eighties. In a research study of the sociology of cartoons, a team of sociologists found: "The cartoon is especially effective in portraying human attitudes.[37] The cartoons portraying husband-wife relations evolved with actual husband-wife relationships, as the swinging couples of the Seventies

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31 See appendix 9.
32 *Playboy* (January 1982), p. 171.
33 Colton, p. 156.
34 *Playboy* (January 1982), p. 119.
35 *Ibid.* (July 1982), p. 155.
36 *Ibid.* (December 1986), p. 241.
37 Emory S. Bogardus, "Sociology of the Cartoon" (**Sociology and Social Research**, Vol. 30: No. 2, 1945), p. 143, 146.

began settling down and the first cases of AIDS were being publicized. Thus, these satirical representations were, in fact, documenting societal changes.

Playboy ran cartoons in the years of 1982 and 1986 featuring children, not of grade school age as in 1975, but teenagers. In one such cartoon, two students are fornicating on the floor of the Electrical Research Department, when the Professor enters. The boy looks up and says, "Thank God you arrived, Professor! We're the victims of an extreme case of static cling!"[38] In another cartoon, a teenage girl and boy are fornicating on the side of a hill with school books scattered around them. The girl is on the bottom and a blimp is flying overhead. She says, "By the way, are you using anything?"[39] These cartoons reflect society's admittance of teenagers having sex. Perhaps this subject was covered during the early Eighties because abortion was becoming a more popular method of dealing with an unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases were receiving attention from the media.

Aside from students copulating, the taboo subject of teacher-student relations was addressed. A scene shows a boy with a letter jacket on top of a woman on her classroom desk. She says, "And remember—neatness, accuracy and originality count!"[40] This cartoon was the only one in this category; it seems to represent a schoolboy's fantasy of making love to his teacher, rather than being a reflection of actual events happening in the mid-Eighties.

The old lady appears in the Eighties issues looking the same as she did in the Seventies, and still as sex-starved. For example, the old lady steps off a plane in Hawaii and is offered a lei; she responds, "Skip the flowers, girlie, where's the lay the travel agent promised me?"[41] This character appears less than in the past issues, but considering the decrease in the number of overall full page cartoons, her appearance seems proportionate to what it was earlier.

In the Eighties, women are conveyed as demanding more sex and higher quality sex, which were characteristics rarely touched upon by earlier cartoons. For example, a woman is on an iceberg with a man above her, as if they are just beginning foreplay. She looks bewildered and says, "I'm

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38 *Playboy* (March 1982), p. 219.
39 *Ibid.* (September 1982), p. 93.
40 *Ibid.* (April 1982), p. 187.
41 *Ibid.* (September 1982), p. 207.

assuming that's just the tip of the iceberg."[42] Also, the woman is allowed to initiate or control the act whereas in past issues she was merely subordinate. The fact the cartoonists are now allowing the woman to lead the action, conveys that society was beginning to accept the idea that women possess, however small, some authority. One such example shows a woman kneeling on a bed over her husband while unbuttoning his pants. He says, "I don't mind your playing the aggressor, dear, I just wish you wouldn't refer to it as Trivial Pursuit."[43] Another example places a man and woman on a boardroom table beginning to undress one another. She says, "I'm against this merger or any take-over attempt, R.J., if there is a possibility of my becoming the parenting company."[44] These selections do not depict the dominating attitude portrayed in most *Playboy*'s cartoons, but at least they do exist, reflecting the cartoonist's realization of women's changing roles.

The cartoons do not seem to completely mirror society in 1982 and 1986, although they may mirror what men would like society to be like in these years. "Dipboye finds more women in management today (1987) than 10 or 20 years ago."[45] However, the women in the cartoons are still shown as wives, girlfriends, or in the traditional female roles of maid and secretary. Perhaps this distinction is still made because the women who succeeded in business then did not fit men's ideal of a woman. "Unlike nonmanagerial women, managerial women's traits deviate markedly from those of the 'typical' female."[46] Judging from the depiction of women in the 1990 *Playboy* issues, the attitude toward women in the work force seems to be changing slightly. While the bodies of the women continue to be voluptuous, the view of women overall seems to be a little more respectful.

In 1990, the topics covered by *Playboy*'s cartoons did not focus on any one area; rather, they commented on a variety of subjects, ranging from abortion to astronauts to weddings to kinky wives. If one subject had the most cartoons, it was the theme of the husband cheating on the wife. This topic has span all the years studied. The Seventies tackled the problem with the swinging couples idea, while the Eighties portrayed the furious wife. If

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42 *Ibid.* (February 1982), p. 171.
43 *Ibid.* (February 1986), p. 147.
44 *Ibid.* (June 1986), p. 181.
45 Koziari, p. xvi.
46 *Ibid.* p.xvi.

1990 itself is an indication of the Nineties attitude toward infidelity, the women are going to be passive about the situation. For example, a woman is sitting in bed reading while her husband looks at himself from the side in the mirror. Without looking up from her book, the wife says, "Who is she, Norman? I see you've been watching your waistline."[47]

Like the issues in 1982 and 1986, those cartoons appearing in 1990 did not depict younger children. Teenagers to college students were occasionally the characters. When they did appear they were represented as naive. For example, a girl is putting her clothes on in the back seat of a car parked in an automobile shop. In front of her, a man dressed as a mechanic is buttoning his overalls while a man in a suit stands in front of him appearing quite upset. The mechanic says, "I didn't think restrictions against teachers and students makin' out applied to trade schools."[48]

Likewise, the appearance of the old woman as a character has decreased. Throughout all of the 1990 issues, the old lady appeared only twice. Perhaps the slow disappearance of the old woman reflects society's attitude toward the elderly, which seems to be one of neglect. However, the decreased appearance of the old lady may be attributed to the fact the woman portrayed in the cartoon has, like men have always been granted the freedom to do, been allowed to age. In past issues, the female image "remained remarkably static. She is young, she is glamorous, she is subordinate to the male characters in the same cartoons."[49] Now, though, only about half of the women in the full page *Playboy* cartoons are the endowed female-type.[50] For example, two overweight aging women are walking down the street behind a woman represented in the stereotypical way, when one of the women says, "My Bernie could never be happy with anything that skinny."[51]

Against the earlier mentioned wish of Hefner, who wanted to show that good girls like sex, too, the cartoons in the 1990 issues actually have some of the females turning down the act, and not because the requester is bad-looking either. One such cartoon entails a nude model preparing to leave an art class when an attractive member of the class propositions her. She says,

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47 *Playboy* (November 1990), p. 137.
48 *Ibid.* (September 1990), p. 91.
49 Endres, p. 16.
50 See appendixes 7 A and 8.
51 *Playboy* (September 1990), p.79.

"Go to bed with you? Get real!"[52] Perhaps this attitude stems from the present fear of contracting sexually transmittable diseases, such as AIDS, or because women are being recognized as having a mind of their own and are being allowed to make their own decisions. Unfortunately, these few cartoons are but a small step, while the ones representing promiscuous women exist in greater numbers. For example, a woman is talking to a Marine and asks, "Have you ever been blown out of the water, so to speak?"[53] However, these more promiscuous cartoons may exist only because they are appearing in a publication catering to men who fantasize about women who like to have sex.

The coverage of the issue of abortion in one of the 1990 cartoons was as refreshing as having some of the female characters refuse to participate in fornication. The scene is an anti-abortion rally taking place outside of a family planning center. A teenage girl approaches her father, who is picketing, and says, "Daddy, there's something I have to tell you."[54] Granted, this depiction is not altogether positive. However, the covering of the topic of abortion for a magazine like *Playboy* seems unusual, especially after the problems encountered in the Eighties concerning pornography as a vehicle for sexual violence. In the case of abortion, to support or discourage such a political issue could result in pressure from a number of organizations. Such subjects also interest feminists. "Hefner admits that he still doesn't know how to deal with the feminists who accuse him of exploiting women's bodies."[55]

Overall, *Playboy*'s representation of women in their cartoons seems to be a fairly accurate reflection of how the young adult male views females. Unfortunately, these views are not the most positive. "Given that a cultural analysis of sex roles focuses on the shared meanings individuals use in their interactions, and that development of these symbolic meanings are, in part, dependent upon the mass media, it is especially disappointing to empirically document the continued depiction of a male-dominated society and the

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[52] *Ibid.* (September 1990), p. 119.
[53] *Ibid.* (June 1990), p. 81.
[54] *Ibid.* (February 1990), p. 85.
[55] Leershen, p. 54.

devaluation of women."[56] Also, the physical representation of the cartoon female has changed little, aside from her breast size, showing that men over time prefer the same body type even though the 'ideal' type, as represented in the media, has changed.[57] "A generation ago, the average model weighed 8 percent less than the average American woman, whereas today she weighs 23 percent less."[58] Likewise, "The weight of Miss Americas plummeted, and the average weight of Playboy Playmates dropped from 11 percent below the National average in 1970 to 17 percent below it in eight years."[59]

Over the 15-year period studied, the full page cartoons in *Playboy* were drawn by many of the same artists. The three primary cartoonists were Buck Burke, John Dempsey and Raymonde. Although the same men created the images and texts, the differences in society were still reflected. Also, since no women artists were represented, one cannot determine whether societal changes were viewed in the same light by them. Since cartoons are a reflection of society's beliefs at a certain period in time, is only one view of society being voiced since women are excluded? In *Playboy*, yes, because the publication reflects only the male viewpoint.

The cartoons which appeared in *Playboy* did document society's attitudes over the 15-year period toward a number of aspects concerning men, women and their relationships. From studying these depictions, conclusions as to the evolution of men's views toward women can be formulated. Beginning with the woman who is perpetually naked and on her back or is sexily dressed and an always willing entity, men allowed women to hold menial positions while wearing scanty outfits and performing sexual acts at every male's whim. From these views evolved the woman portrayed as 'sleeping her way to the top.' Following this depiction was the woman who could refuse intercourse, but would not very often because, as all men seem to believe, 'she really wants it.' This view is still present today. So, if women think, "You've come a long way, baby." They had better think again.

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[56] Sarah Brabant and Linda Mooney, "Sex Role Stereotyping in the Sunday Comics: Ten Years Later" (**Sex Roles**), 14: p. 148.
[57] See appendix 7 A and 8.
[58] Naomi Wolf, **The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women** (William Morrow and Company, Inc., New York), p.184.
[59] *Ibid.* p.185.

APPENDIX 1

NUMBER OF WOMEN NUDE					
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	10	6	5	3	0
February	6	3	4	4	1
March	11	3	5	3	1
April	9	4	2	4	2
May	7	3	3	2	1
June	5	3	3	1	1
July	8	3	4	0	1
August	5	3	5	2	2
September	5	3	7	1	2
October	6	5	9	1	1
November	4	3	2	1	1
December	6	3	3	1	2

APPENDIX 2

NUMBER OF WOMEN DRESSED					
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	3	2	0	2	2
February	5	4	2	1	3
March	5	3	1	3	0
April	1	3	4	1	2
May	2	2	1	1	1
June	5	4	2	2	3
July	6	7	0	4	3
August	3	3	4	1	2
September	3	2	2	3	3
October	2	3	3	0	2
November	4	1	3	4	1
December	6	5	4	4	2

APPENDIX 3

NUMBER OF WOMEN PARTIALLY DRESSED					
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	2	1	1	1	2
February	2	0	2	0	0
March	0	1	3	0	1
April	3	2	3	0	0
May	3	3	4	1	0
June	2	0	2	1	0
July	3	1	6	1	0
August	2	2	0	1	0
September	3	1	1	0	0
October	4	3	0	0	1
November	2	2	3	0	1
December	3	2	1	2	2

APPENDIX 4

NUMBER OF MEN PARTIALLY DRESSED					
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	1	0	0	0	0
February	2	1	0	0	0
March	1	0	0	0	1
April	1	1	1	0	0
May	2	0	1	0	0
June	0	2	2	0	0
July	1	1	0	0	0
August	0	0	1	0	0
September	1	2	0	0	0
October	1	1	0	0	0
November	2	0	2	0	1
December	0	3	3	0	0

APPENDIX 5

	NUMBER OF MEN NUDE				
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	4	3	3	2	1
February	3	2	3	2	1
March	3	1	4	0	0
April	8	1	1	1	0
May	4	2	1	0	2
June	0	1	2	1	0
July	4	4	1	1	1
August	2	1	1	1	0
September	1	2	3	1	0
October	5	3	4	1	1
November	2	0	0	1	0
December	5	0	1	1	1

APPENDIX 6

	NUMBER OF MEN DRESSED				
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	9	7	4	5	6
February	12	5	5	4	4
March	12	7	5	6	2
April	5	6	7	4	4
May	7	7	7	4	1
June	12	6	4	3	3
July	11	6	8	2	4
August	7	8	8	3	4
September	9	3	5	4	4
October	7	8	8	0	3
November	7	5	6	4	2
December	8	10	9	5	5

APPENDIX 7 A

NUMBER OF WOMEN WITH LARGE BREASTS					
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	13	8	7	4	4
February	15	5	5	2	2
March	13	7	6	4	2
April	12	8	6	5	1
May	12	8	5	3	1
June	10	5	5	1	1
July	13	8	8	1	0
August	9	6	6	0	3
September	10	6	6	1	3
October	11	9	10	0	1
November	9	7	6	3	2
December	13	7	9	1	2

APPENDIX 7 B

NUMBER OF WOMEN COULD NOT DETERMINE BREAST SIZE FROM CARTOON					
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
Number	14	11	14	7	6

APPENDIX 8

NUMBER OF WOMEN WITHOUT LARGE BREASTS					
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	0	0	0	1	0
February	0	0	0	2	2
March	1	0	1	2	1
April	1	1	1	0	1
May	0	0	1	1	1
June	0	0	2	2	1
July	1	1	2	4	4
August	0	0	1	3	0
September	1	0	1	2	2
October	0	1	2	1	3
November	0	0	1	1	1
December	0	1	1	4	3

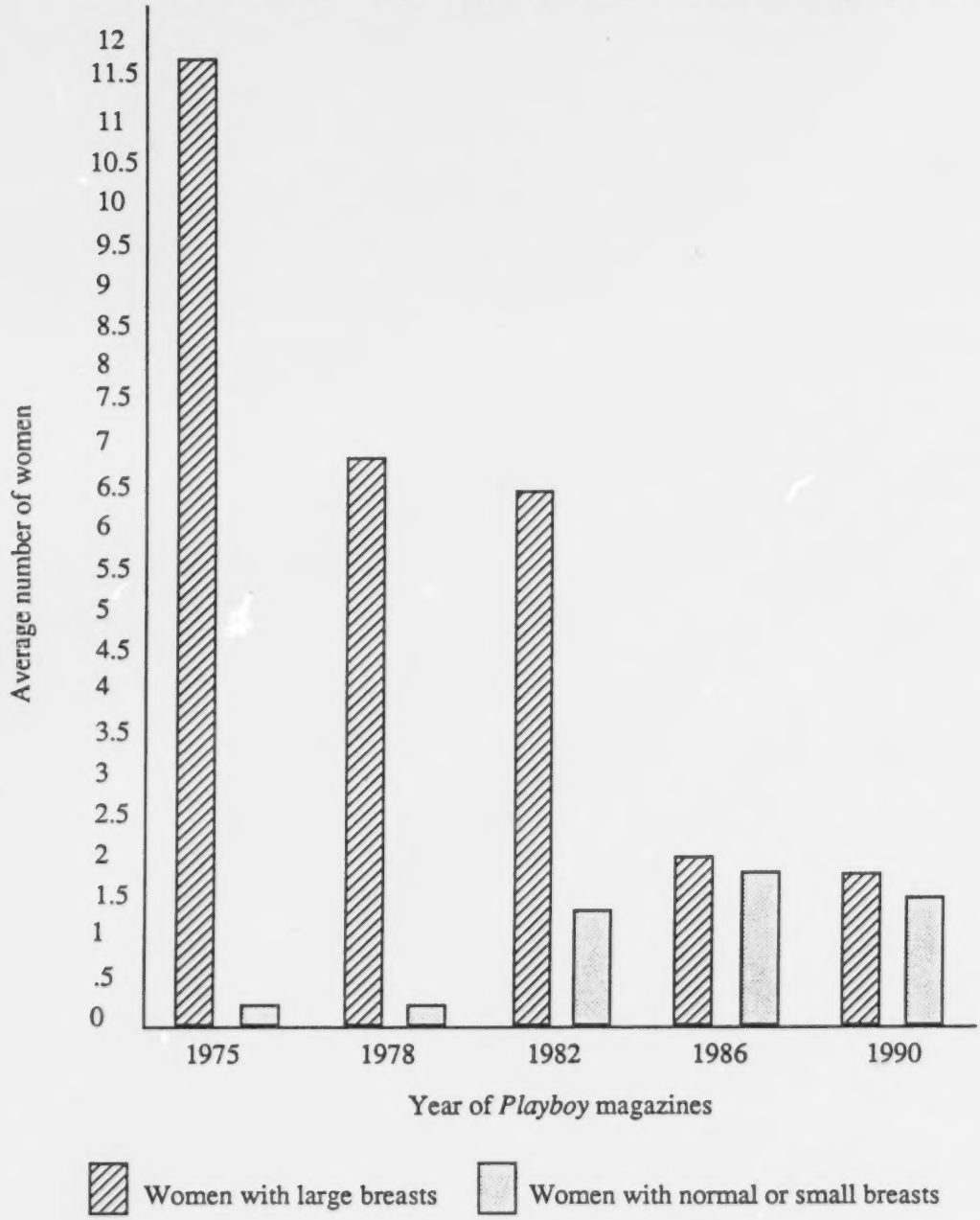
APPENDIX 9

NUMBER OF FULL PAGE CARTOONS					
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	14	10	7	7	7
February	16	9	8	6	5
March	16	9	9	6	3
April	14	9	9	5	4
May	13	9	9	4	3
June	13	9	8	4	3
July	17	11	11	5	5
August	11	9	9	4	4
September	13	7	10	5	5
October	14	12	12	1	4
November	12	7	9	5	3
December	15	13	12	6	6

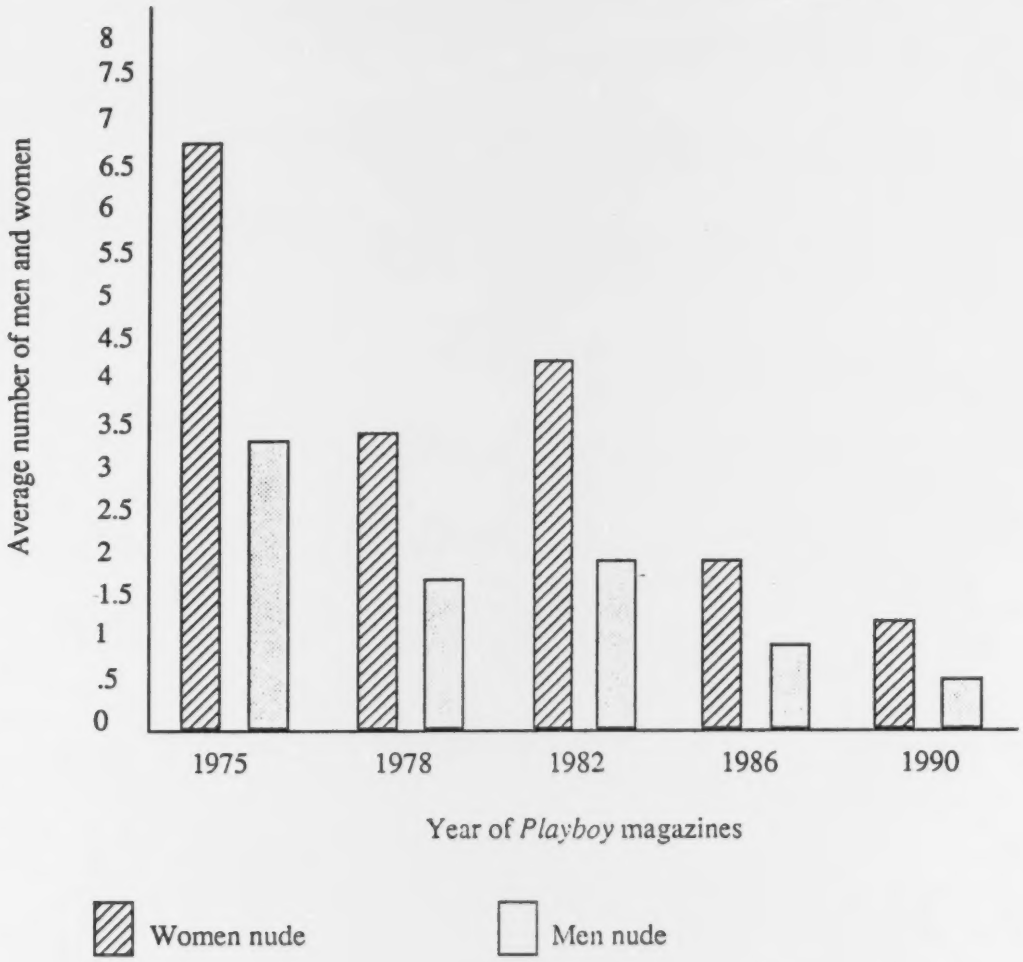
APPENDIX 10

	NUMBER OF PAGES				
	1975	1978	1982	1986	1990
January	274	296	320	252	232
February	208	216	220	200	172
March	212	256	260	180	180
April	228	256	260	212	184
May	228	264	268	206	188
June	224	284	300	208	184
July	208	248	256	200	176
August	200	248	240	178	164
September	232	268	240	182	180
October	220	292	238	198	188
November	228	316	268	198	192
December	302	394	236	258	252

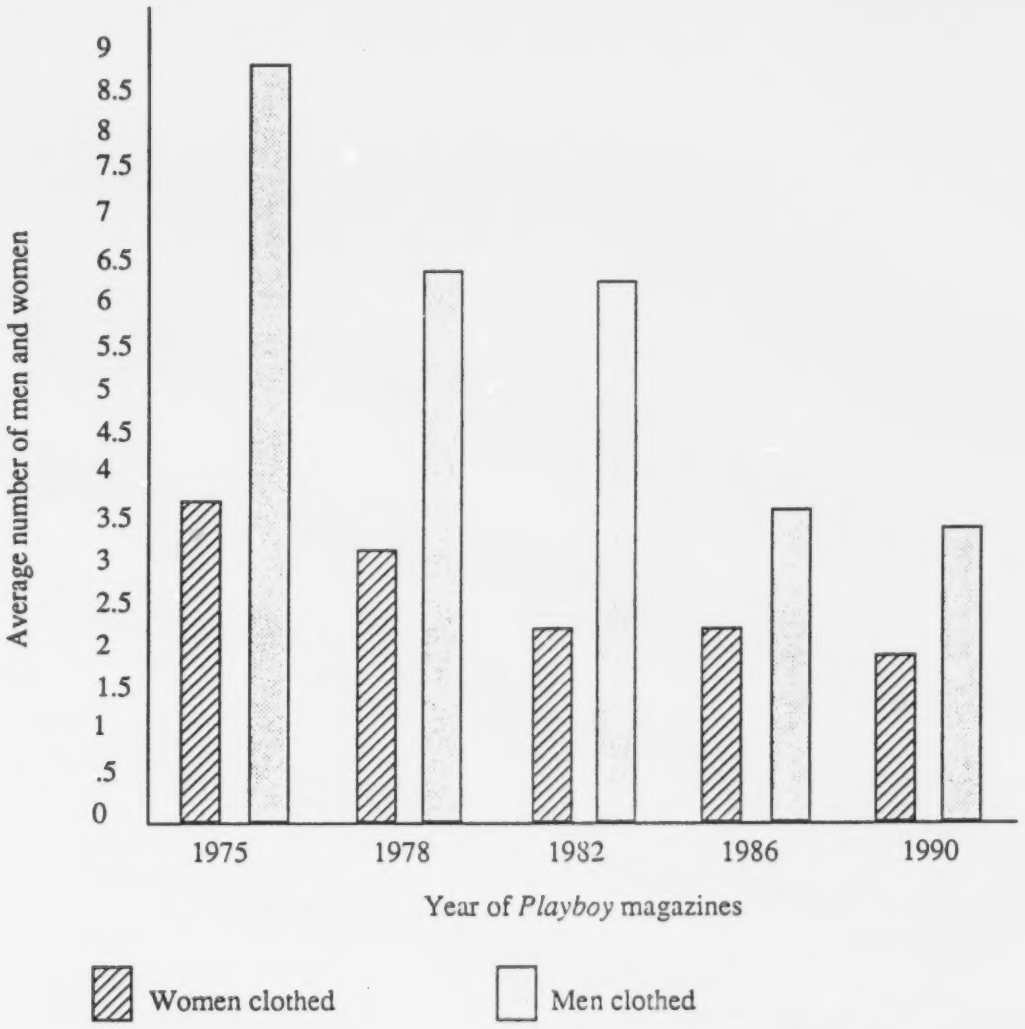
Comparison of Women Shown with Large Breasts to Women Shown with Normal to Small Breasts In *Playboy* Cartoons



Comparison of Women and Men Shown Nude In *Playboy* Cartoons



Comparison of Women and Men Shown Clothed In *Playboy* Cartoons



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A Life Cycle Study of Two Social Movement Magazines: *The Mother Earth News* and *Ms.*

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Introduction

A magazine can be the voice of a social movement[1] as well as as a means of drawing individuals within that movement closer together, solidifying a community that had been loosely formed, and creating new communities based on common concerns. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, two magazines were created that might be called social movement magazines: *Ms.*, founded on the philosophy of the feminist movement and *The Mother Earth News*, representing the back-to-the-land movement.

For the purposes of this paper, a social movement magazine is defined as one whose editorial philosophy is built on the philosophy of a specific social movement and whose audience members are also believers in that particular movement.

Both *Ms.* and *The Mother Earth News* have gone through an entire life cycle, from birth to death and, it can be argued, both are starting new cycles. These magazines started out as voices of subcultures, and saw their causes popularized and some of their issues mainstreamed. Both created strong communities of believers and all ultimately disappointed some of those believers as the magazines got larger, slicker, and more removed from the causes they represented. Both died and were reintroduced in formats with close ties to the 1970s originals.

How does such a magazine respond to changes in the social movement and corresponding changes in society? How do such changes affect the nature of the magazine's audience as well as the nature of the magazine's content? Moreover, how do publishing realities -- the necessity of making money, usually through external sources -- affect the magazine and its relationship with its audience?

This paper explores these questions through an analysis of the histories of *The Mother Earth News* and *Ms.* In the process, this study may provide insight into all magazines: By studying social movement magazines and their relationships with their audiences in the context of a changing society, perhaps we can gain a better understanding of magazine-audience relationships in general.

The Media and Social Change

Much has been written about the pull between the media, their audiences and society; in the middle of the debate is the question of whether the media are agents of change or of the status quo. Peterson, in his history of magazines up to the early 1960s, said magazines influence culture at the same time they are influenced by it.[2] Other studies concentrated on magazines as societal reflectors. Matkov and Mookerji studied women's magazines in the 1950s to 1970s and found that these publications reflect readers' interests, reinforcing existing opinions and filling existing needs.[3] In

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[1] The definition of social movement used will be that provided by McCarthy and Zald: " A social movement is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of society." Such movements are directed toward social change. See John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1977, 82:6, pp. 1217-1218.

[2] Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. 448- 451.

[3] R.R. Matkov, "Ladies Home Journal and McCalls in 1960s and 1970: A Content Analysis," Master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1972; and R. Mookerji, "A Content Analysis of Five Selected American Women's Magazines in the Last Twenty Years," Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1967.

1988, Reilly suggested that contemporary women's service magazines reflect the changed nature of women's lives, especially women's dual roles in the home and workplace.[4]

Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur proposed a dependency theory to explain the operation of the media within society, suggesting a three-part relationship between the media, audience and society in a system in which all three players are dependent on one another. When society changes significantly, audience needs change; the media change in response both to the societal changes and to changes in the audience. Likewise, changes in the media affect both the audience and society. [5] In later work, DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach suggested that the ideal media system works to create a balance among audience, advertising agencies, product manufacturers, distributors, research organizations and regulatory agencies. [6]

Katz's uses and gratifications approach suggests that audience members are active participants in media messages, who seek out particular media for specific, individual reasons, primarily because of selectivity and interpersonal relations. [7] McQuail, Blumler and Brown expanded Katz's work and offered four categories of uses and gratifications that motivate audiences: diversion; personal relationships, including using media information in conversations and substituting media for companionship; personal identity or individual psychology; and information gathering. [8]

Resource mobilization theory, as presented by Zald and McCarthy, maintains that social movements use the mass media purposefully for their own specific goals and that these movements are prime causes of social change, often through the use of the media. Social movements arise, they say, because of grassroots support for the movement at a time when adequate external resources, such as time and money, are available.[9]

Resource mobilization theory explains group activities in the politically-charged 1960s and 1970s, when both private and public charitable contributions increased. [10] Such external support supplements internal organization of a movement. However, the danger in dependence on external resources, according to Pichardo, is that the organization might modify its behavior to conform to the wishes of those outside sources providing the funds rather than to the wishes of group members.[11]

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[4] P. Reilly, "Service Magazines Adapt to Market," *Advertising Age*, March 7, 1988, p. S6, S10.

[5] Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach and Melvin L.DeFleur, "A Dependency Model of Mass Media Effects," *Communication Research* 3, 1976, pp. 3-21.

[6] Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach, *Theories of Mass Communication* (New York: Longman, 1988), p.138.

[7] Elihu Katz, "Mass Communication Research and the Study of Popular Culture: An Editorial Note on a Possible Future for this Journal," *Studies in Public Communication*, 2, 1959, pp.1-6.

[8] Daniel McQuail, J.G. Blumler and J.R. Brown, "The Television Audience: A Revised Perspective." In Daniel McQuail (ed), *Sociology of Mass Communications* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1972).

[9] M.N. Zald and J. McCarthy, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journalism of Sociology*, 1977, 82:6, pp. 1212-1238. See also J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization and the Study of Social Movements," *American Review of Sociology*, 1983, 9:527-53.

[10] Zald and McCarthy, *op.cit*, p.1225.

[11] Nelson A Pichardo, "Resource Mobilization: An Analysis of Conflicting Theoretical Variations," *The Sociological Quarterly*, 29:1, p. 103.

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In the case of magazines, these outside sources are often advertisers. According to historian Daniel Boorstin, the media themselves aren't the agents of power; rather, he said, this power is held by the advertising messages carried by the media. Boorstin called advertising the "rhetoric of democracy," suggesting that popular forces, rather than knowledge, education or history, determine American culture, with the most powerful popular force being advertising. We have no "high culture," he said, only a folk culture built on the wisdom of advertising copywriters. Moreover, he said, the rules in such a society are ephemeral, changing constantly: "We are perhaps the first people in history to have a centrally organized mass-produced folk culture. Our kind of popular culture is here today and gone tomorrow." This system, he says, deprives people of their chances for "individual and small-community expression." [12]

Social movement magazines, then, can be seen as affected by internal sources in the form of the audience, on whom the magazine could depend with little or no loss of power or control, and by external sources in the form of advertisers, who might cause a modification of the editors' behavior because of the magazine's dependence on advertising revenue. Audience members are active participants in this interchange, choosing those media that suit their purposes best. It can be argued that social movement magazines can be used for personal identity, information gathering and the development of personal relationships. The audience, advertisers and publishers all work toward individual goals, and the successful medium must strike a balance among these goals, many of which conflict. Society is enmeshed in this system, influencing and being influenced by the other players.

Do all of these forces work in a consistent manner and, if so, can this manner be studied? The history of *The Mother Earth News* and *Ms.* suggests that there is a consistency to the development of these forces and that, in fact, this development follows a life cycle.

Magazine Life Cycles

Analysts have noted that magazines in general follow specific life cycles. Editorial consultant James Kobak offered a seven-step model: Infancy, characterized by "sound and fury" and requiring special care; Childhood, a time of rapid growth and, perhaps, errors; Adolescence, defined by maturity, but with "exuberance and doubts;" Manhood, when the magazine is at the peak of its strength and, apparently, male; Middle Age, a period of stability, with some decline; Old Age, marked by struggles to retain vitality; and Death. Kobak says death can occur at any point in the lifestyle, but, for a well-managed magazine, it comes only after a long life.[13]

Clay Felker, founding editor of *New York* magazine, also spoke of magazine life cycles in human terms, starting with: "a clamorous youth eager to be noticed; vigorous productive, middle-age marked by an easy-to-define editorial life; and a long, slow decline, in which efforts at revival are sporadic

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12 Daniel J. Boorstin. *Democracy and its Discontents* (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 42.
13James B. Kobak, "The Life Cycle of a Magazine," *Magazine Publishing Management* (New Canaan, Connecticut: Folio Magazine Publishing Corporation, 1976), pp. 35-38.

and tragically doomed." His emphasis was on the editor's relationship with the magazine which, he said, provides the grounding for the magazine's success. [14]

While both models provide guidance, they are dated and have more application to general interest than special interest magazines. They also provide a linear, rather than a circular, approach, ignoring the conditions that precede and follow the magazine. That is, they overlook the social context in which magazines operate.

It is the hypothesis of this study that social movements have life cycles that are circular and unique to the magazines' relationships with their audiences. It is further hypothesized that the magazine and its audience develop through the same social history.

Methodology

The history of *The Mother Earth News* was developed from reading all issues from the magazine's inception in 1970 until 1990 when publication temporarily ceased. Actual issues of the magazine were used to facilitate analysis of paper stock, color and printing quality, which supplement the analysis of editorial content. The Letters column provided audience input. Two regular columns, News from Mother and The Plowboy Interview were used for background and perspective. Numerous attempts were made to contact John Shuttleworth, founding editor of the magazine. These included the use of intermediaries to deliver messages, letters, and a questionnaire with a stamped, self-addressed return envelope. All attempts failed. Few articles about the magazine were found, but these were used as background.

The history of *Ms.* was also developed by reading issues from the magazine's inception in 1972 until 1989 when publication temporarily ceased. An attempt was made to use actual copies for discussion of paper stock, color and printing quality,but microfilm was used when actual copies were unavailable. The Letters column again provided audience input. The analysis of content was based on cover stories because these provided the forum for the development of the magazine's voice. There were a great many more Books, articles and papers written about Ms. than about The Mother Earth News. These were used as background.

Data on social change come from the U.S. Census of 1980 and 1990 as well as from studies on the environmental and women's movements. Information on the restarts of both magazines came from the magazines themselves, the editors and from articles about the magazines.

Originally, *The Mother Earth News* and *Ms.* studies were formulated into separate papers. Neither stood strongly on its own, however, so the two were combined into one paper.

The Mother Earth News: Emergence of the Audience

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[14] Clay Felker, "Life Cycles in the Age of Magazines," in *Mass Media Forces In Our Society*, ed. Francis and Ludmila Voelker (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), p.91. Reprinted from *The Antioch Review*, 29:1, Spring 1969.

A study of any social movement magazine must begin with the history of the social environment in which the magazine and its audience developed. For *The Mother Earth News*, this environment was one of respect for the land and for the individuals who lived on that land.

America began as a rural, agrarian culture and, throughout the history of the country, we have idealized those who live off the land. The media have eagerly promoted the agrarian ideal. Gans found several "enduring values" in news coverage by the American media, including the themes of small town pastoralism and individualism. The media, he said, present an image of America favoring small towns over other settlements and defending the individual's freedom against social encroachment.[15]

Hayden says Americans, even those in urban areas, cling to rural life. This, she says, is symptomatic of a society that rejects its urban realities in search of rural ideals. Americans, she says, are looking for the isolated Jeffersonian farm.[16]

In the 1970s, Americans moved to rural areas at a surprising rate, shifting the population toward small urban settlements and rural areas. According to the 1980 census, metropolitan areas grew 10 percent from 1970 to 1980. Non-urban areas saw a 17.1 percent increase. The largely rural state of Vermont grew faster than the United States population as a whole.

The 1970s also saw the growth of the environmentalist movement, which heard perhaps its strongest expression in Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, published in 1962. The first Earth Day was celebrated April 22, 1970 and was followed with such legislation as the National Environmental Policy Act and the Clean Air Act of 1970. The Environmental Protection Agency began operation on December, 1970. [17]

This, of course, was an era of countercultures: the youth movement, the anti-war movement, the women's movement. Other media were dealing with back-to-the-land issues. In fact, the first several issues of *The Mother Earth News (TMEN)* contained generous amounts of reprints from such diverse publications as *Farm Journal, Vocations for Social Change*, the Eugene, Oregon *Augur, Popular Mechanics* and *Motorhome Life*. Also in those early issues, though, the magazine ran reprints from farm magazines, such as *Practical Animal Husbandry*, published in the 1940s, reminding readers that the present is built on the past.

The back-to-the-land movement of the 1970s, then, based on self-sufficiency and respect for the land,
had deep roots harking back to the first Americans. The movement evolved logically in the 1970s in sync with
a growing environmental movement and in an era rich in alternative movements.

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[15] Herbert Gans, "The Messages Behind the News," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January-February, 1979, pp. 40-45. Other enduring values are: ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, moderatism, order and leadership.

[16] Delores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream, The Future of Housing, Work and Family Life* (New York: WW. Norton and Company, 1984), p.101.

[17] Editorial Research Reports, *America in the 1980s* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1979).

Many of the individuals profiled in the first issues of *The Mother Earth News* had left urban jobs for rural areas in the 1940s and 1950s -- 20 to 30 years before the magazine was born. The first issue included an article on "Living High on $6500 a year," about a former New York editor who quit his job in 1946 and moved to California to build a cement block and redwood home, living off the land and freelancing. The second issue published the Have More Plan, a model for efficient homesteading, which was first introduced in the mid-1940s. An editor's note accompanying the plan suggests that readers "can put down part of the older generation...but not all of it. Some of those who went before were just as interested then as you are now in fresh air, sunshine, green grass and wholesome food." [18]

The audience, then, existed before the start of *TMEN*. It was an audience as old as the country and, because of this, the traditional media had regularly covered back-to-the-land issues. The solidification, perhaps radicalization, of the movement, however, awaited *TMEN*.

MS. Emergence of the Audience

The feminist movement of the 1970s gave *Ms.* its impetus, but the movement itself had its roots in women's suffrage and gained momentum in the 1950s with Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, in the 1960s with Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* and in 1970 with Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics*. The National Organization of Women, started in 1966, provided a national bond for the movement and the National Women's Political Caucus, formed in 1971 gave it political weight. As the feminist movement of the 1970s gained momentum, feminists began lobbying for the use of the term Ms. as a title for women that has no reference to marital status.

Gloria Steinem, a founding editor of *Ms.*, was a leader of the feminist movement as a founder of the National Women's Political Caucus, and a member of the New York Advisory Board of the National Organization of Women and the Democratic Policy Council. She was also a writer for magazines such as *Esquire, Look and Glamour*. Interestingly, her grandmother, Pauline Steinem, was also a successful feminist who had addressed Congress on the women's vote, served as the first female member of a school board in Ohio and helped found Ohio's first vocational high school. [19]

The alternative media had dealt with the women's liberation movement, as it was then called, with such notable pieces as "The Next Great Moment in History is Theirs," by Vivian Gornick in the November 17, 1969 *Village Voice*. Feminist publications, such as New York's *Broadside* and *Up from Under*, existed, but they were local and low in circulation. The mainstream media also gave some space to feminism. The April 1, 1971 *Newsweek*, for example, included an article assessing the status of the movement and its media voices, which, according to the article, included "at least a dozen newspapers,

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[18] "The Have-More Plan," *The Mother Earth News*, March, 1970, p.9.

[19] Marcia Cohen, *The Sisterhood, The Inside Story of the Women's Movement and the Leaders Who Made it Happen* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1988), p.41.

two quarterlies, two annual journals and scores of local newsletters."[20] The women's movement learned and developed from the experiences of the major movement of the 1950s -- the civil rights movement.

The feminist audience, then, existed, and was being served already to an extent by a variety of publications and organizations.

The Mother Earth News: Creation of the Magazine

The first issue of *The Mother Earth News* was published in January 1970. Shuttleworth wanted to call his new magazine *The Great Chief Joseph Newsletter* because he considered Chief Joseph, of the Nez Perc Indians, "one of the few authentic heroes of the North American continent." Jane Shuttleworth, his wife and partner, advocated calling it *The Mother Earth News*, a name she felt was "more universal and less political." Shuttleworth started the magazine armed with several filing cabinets full of material "on people who have successfully walked away from the system and started living life on their own terms." He planned to create a magazine to support and supplement the work of Stewart Brand and *The Whole Earth Catalog*. It would be a magazine, he said, that would help "everyone be their own man (sic)...to have control and direction of their lives." [21]

The movement had its women disciples, but many of the early magazines showed a strong male influence. In the second issue, an article explained how housewives could help support their husbands on a homestead. Jane Shuttleworth was often referred to as "little Jane" and the magazine ran a regular column, "Let Men of Wisdom Speak." (The latter was changed to "Let Men and Women of Wisdom Speak" in 1977.)

The first issue was printed on newsprint and was type-heavy, with some black and white line drawings and photos. It sported a black and yellow cover with a drawing of a sun and the cover line, "a new beginning." The table of contents page introduced the magazine's tag line: "The Mother Earth News...it tells you how" and the magazine was promoted as showing readers "how to do more with less." The magazine was referred to as "Mother," almost as though it were a person rather than a publication.

Shuttleworth's original intention, in fact, was to publish a newsletter, and the magazine carried a newsletter look. The back-to-the-land movement emphasized the natural over the artificial and built on the beauty of simplicity. The look of the magazine reflected the attitude of the movement.

Articles and columns were chatty, written in first person; readers often were referred to as "gang." The regular departments had a homey tone and homey titles: "Report from the Home Folk," "Report From Them That's Doin," and "Make Yer Own." Shuttleworth wrote to readers in a friendly-neighbor voice full of 1970s counter-culture rhetoric. For example, in May 1970 he wrote a "Statement of Policy" to readers:

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[20] Marcia R. Prior, "Ms.: The Magazine Whose Time Was Right," Paper presented to the Magazine Division of the Association for Education in Journalism, Annual Convention, 1977.

[21] "The Plowboy Interview," *The Mother Earth News*, March, 1970, p. 4

> There are many paths to the Clear Light and we are all pilgrims. MOTHER exists only to present the HOW of alternate life styles not normally considered in our modern society. That's 'lifestyles' not 'style.' Each individual must choose the way that is proper for him. We can only help to make a meaningful selection possible. Peace.[22]

The language throughout the magazine is representative of the 1970s counterculture, with words like "pad" and "groovy" used regularly. One article in the November 1975 issue dealt with "Getting into the Tao of Hair" and showed readers how to cut hair while following its natural lines. Another, in May 1971, was titled "The Best Dang Tipi in the World."

In the second issue, Shuttleworth even asked readers to help with distribution:

> It's an entirely grassroots thing now, gang, If you like Mother, tell your friends and bug the local head shop and newsstand until they stock her. Send us the names and address of all possible dealers (including yourself, if you're interested).

Readers began their connections with one another in the letters section of the second issue. Letters were answered in the magazine by "mother" and readers were referred to as mother's "children." One reader, writing in the third issue, May , 1970, suggested a readers' convention. Several others asked for information on communes. Another, writing in the fourth issue, July 1970, said "Hey, we're a movement? I thought I was the only one."

Those connections stretched to university campuses. In the mid-1970s, an English professor at Northern Arizona University taught a course on the Literature of the Mother Earth Movement, using the *TMEN* as well as the Whole Earth Catalog as resources. [23]

In the third issue, the Access and Contacts sections were introduced, designed to allow readers to correspond with one another. Contacts, with the tag line, "Let's get together," allowed readers to sell land, books and houses; find communes; rent farms for the summer; advertise for material for new businesses, including a head shop and a health store; and lobby for causes such as reducing pollution by not driving. A spot in Contact cost a reader 25 cents. An Access listing was free, and provided a forum for readers to share suggestions and ideas with one another. Initial spots were for alternative publications and environmental and political groups.

Both columns became so popular that Shuttleworth had to rein in the readers. In issue 14, March 1972, the editors announced that Contacts was "getting out of hand" and asked readers to limit their letters to 100 words, admonishing them in a motherly manner: "If you can't boil your future plans down to a concise 100 word summary...well, chances are you don't really know where you're headed anyway."

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22 "A Statement of Policy," *The Mother Earth News*, May, 1970, p.9.

23 Keith Cunningham, professor of English at Northern Arizona State University, and wrote about the experience in "The Use of the Dairy Goat in the Teaching of Contemporary English," *The Dairy Goat Journal*, 53:6, p. 30.

Four months later, *TMEN* created an entirely new magazine devoted to Contacts, *Lifestyle*, with the first issue printed as an insert in the July, 1972 issue of *TMEN*. In addition to Contacts, *Lifestyle* included alternative lifestyle articles, leaving *TMEN*, according to the editors, free to "concentrate more closely on the back-to-the-land, ecology, basic living aspects of the New Life movement." *Lifestyle* lasted slightly more than a year, until November, 1973, its death blamed on the skyrocketing paper and postal costs.

Reader involvement continued, with some readers getting so involved with the magazine and its message they began to make pests of themselves. By the ninth issue, a year and a half after the magazine was started, Shuttleworth made a plea to readers indicating the popularity of the movement as well as his exhaustion and frustration with his role as the Mother of the movement: "Please! Folks, we love you...but please, please don't "just drop by" Mother's offices this summer expecting to find 'a place on the floor' on which to spread your bedroll. We ain't got such a place."

The magazine's effect on readers became apparent in its third year of publication, when articles dealt with individuals whose lives had followed *TMEN*'s lead. In the May 1972 issue, the magazine profiled a store owner in Brown County, Indiana who lived on a 190-acre farm almost entirely self-sufficient. "We do everything

by Mother," he said. In the same issue, a man wrote about the lemonade business he started after seeing the idea

in *TMEN*'s third issue. The July 1972 issue included a short article about a couple who got married after meeting through the Contact column.

The audience had become more than mere readers; they had almost become family. Through the Letters, Feedback, Access and Contacts sections, "Mother's children" debated the merits of hunting, using protective paper covers on the magazine ("They're recyclable" was the response -- use them as hair curlers or as paper to write a letter to *TMEN.*) and the merits of surfboarding as a way of life. And Mother was there, cajoling, clarifying and mediating as needed. For example, in December 1973, after one especially emotional debate about a letter defending "law-abiding hunters," Mother wrote parentally: "For one final, last time...I think both sides are right and both sides are wrong on this argument and this is the last time--for now --that I want to see name-calling and finger-pointing."

The magazine had not only solidified the audience, it had helped it become a family: connected, supportive and, occasionally, bickering.

MS.: Creation of the Magazine

The launching of *Ms.* was unique. Clay Felker, editor of *New York* magazine and a friend of Gloria Steinem, agreed to publish 44 pages of *Ms.* material as a supplement in *New York* magazine in December 1971. *Ms.* received more than 20,000 letters from across the world from that issue. The magazine appeared as a self-standing monthly in spring of 1972.

It was obvious early on that the magazine had tapped into the heart of its audience. By 1973, it was receiving 1,000 letters a week,[24] many highly personal, as though writers were speaking to a friend rather than a collection of bound pages. Mary Thom, who has been with the magazine in various positions since the first issue and serves as executive editor of the new *Ms.*, says the magazine created its own community, a community of readers who often used the letters column as their personal forum. Through this forum, women shared how their lives were changing. In 1982, one women wrote: "In 1972, I asked 'What's wrong with me?' Now, at thirty-three, I ask 'What the hell is the matter with them!'"[25]

The *Ms.* community column even had its own language, using "click" to refer to a moment of feminist insight. The term was introduced in the preview issue, Spring 1972, by writer Jane O'Reilly in "The Housewife's Moment of Truth." Throughout the history of the magazine, readers wrote in to tell of their "clicks." An example from the June 1977 issue:

> After talking with my man friend and house mate of six months about my doing most of the housework, I finally presented him with a bill today for "domestic service": approximately four hours a week at three dollars and fifty cents an hour. This so-called liberated male (he talks a good line) thought about this for two minutes, then drew up his own bill. "Sexual services": approximately four hours a week at five dollars an hour. He even thinks his sexual services are worth more than mine! Click![26]

Letter writers often responded to other letter writers, creating a national dialogue based on personal experiences and their political implications. Perhaps the magazine's most notorious letter writer was Gerald Robert Wildermuth, who spoke of what he, his wife and three girls were doing to combat women's lib, which included:

> When we pull into a gas station and a broad is working there, we tell her that we don't believe in women working in service stations and that she can't put gas in our car. If the man in the station want to fill the tank, he can. If not, we go to the next station. I would like to give you 95 percent of the responses we get: "Sir, it is against the law to discriminate." Then I tell them that if the law says that the station has to hire her, I am the public, and I can do as I please. Then we drive off, and the woman stands there looking stupid. [27]

Wildermuth's letter was printed in the May 1976 issue, and response to it filled the Letters column in the September, 1976 issue. Readers asked if he were for real, suggested that he suffered from "acute testesterone poisoning," and noted that Wildermuth means "wild mouth" in German. [28]

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[24] Martin Arnold, "Ms. Magazine, a Success After 16 Issues, Now Tries Other Business Ventures," *New York Times*, September 21, 1973, p.38.
[25] Mary Thom, *Letters to Ms.* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1987), p. xviii.
[26] *Ibid*, p.13.
[27] *Ibid*, p.189
[28] *Ibid*, pp. 190-193.

For the 1970s, and into the 1980s, the magazine's design was straightforward and unpretentious, with small headlines, functional line art and little white space. Newsprint or uncoated stock was used liberally, full color was usually reserved for the cover and interior ads, and photos most often were black and white. The message of the design was that neither women nor their magazine needed artificial embellishment. In fact, seriousness of purpose was most clearly reflected by a lack of make-up on women and a lack of color and slickness in a magazine.

Writers used first person and a relaxed, personal tone and incorporated personal anecdotes and autobiographical information in articles to add to the sense of community and to bring an immediacy to the material. Many articles were memoirs, such as one by Rolaine Hochsteing, "Mahj-Jongg Returns, " in the January 1977 issue, in which she remembers her mother's mahj-jongg games and the bond they created between her mother and her women friends. Gloria Steinem wrote a poignant article about living with her mother, who moved in and out of reality, in "Ruth's Song: Because She Could Not Sing It," in September, 1983.

By the late 1970s, the title "Ms." itself -- which, as has been noted, predated the magazine -- had become a symbol of the feminist movement, and was the cause of significant debate, as the media, corporations and individuals struggled with the use of the new term. Jacobson and Insko, in fact, found a close correlation between the use of Ms. and the acceptance of feminism. [29]

Ms. incorporated the feminist philosophy in its offices. New mothers brought their babies to work, and flexible hours and part-time jobs gave working mothers some latitude. On the masthead, the typical hierarchical magazine structure, with staff members listed in order of importance, was avoided. In its place, names were listed alphabetically, putting Gloria Steinem's name near the bottom.

The magazine also applied for, and won, non-profit status as an entity of the *Ms* Foundation, and used magazine funds and contributions to help promote the feminist agenda and provide financial support for the women living that agenda. One such project, a children's record and television special entitled "Free to Be...You and Me," spearheaded by Marlo Thomas in 1973, proved a money-maker for the foundation. In the early 1980s, the foundation began the *Ms.* University Program, providing free copies of the magazine for use in college classes. Eventually, *Ms.* was used in English, journalism, women's studies, political science, sociology, psychology, economics and communications courses in nearly 3,000 colleges. Class copies were funded through contributions to the *Ms.* Foundation.[30]

The magazine had not only solidified its community of readers, it had become a primary voice of the feminist movement. Gloria Steinem herself became a symbol of the movement, appearing on the cover of the August 16, 1971 issue of *Newsweek* magazine under the heading, "The New Woman." *McCalls* followed in 1972, running Steinem on the cover of its January issue announcing 1972 as the

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[29] Marsha B. Jacobson and William R. Insko, "On the Relationship Between Feminism and the Use of Ms.," *Psychological Reports*, April, 1984, pp. 388-90.

[30] "*Ms.* Returns to the Classroom," *Ms.* Magazine, March/April, 1991, p.7.

Year of the Women, dubbing Steinem the "Woman of the Year" and calling her a "latter-day Billy Sunday preaching a new-found feminism." [31]

The Mother Earth News: Growth and Change

By the sixth issue, November 1970, the magazine had grown to 124 pages; a year later it was regularly 132 pages. By 1980, it was up to 200 pages. The masthead, which originally listed only the Shuttleworths and a few friends, expanded and, in egalitarian fashion, listed the Shuttleworths alphabetically. In 1975, the magazine's motto was changed to "More than a magazine -- a way of life."

Early advertising in the magazine was black and white, consisting of homesteading books and organic products, often offered by the people profiled in articles. At the beginning, Shuttleworth said he was trying to restrict advertising to 15 percent or less of every issue. He added, "We do make an effort to accept only that advertising we think will be of service to a large portion of Mother readers." [32] Color ads started appearing in the magazine in 1975, but were still related to self-sufficiency. Advertising increased gradually through the years, but editorial seriously outdistanced advertising. Ads were for home-based businesses, log cabins, seeds and gardening materials and even Jack Daniels whiskey.

Throughout the 1970s the magazine's look remained essentially the same. Paper and printing quality improved, although uncoated stock was still used. Covers were so consistent the magazine appeared to run the same cover over and over: artwork with spot color printed on a coated cover stock. In the mid-1970s color photography began appearing in the middle of the book and was accompanied by the use of coated stock on color sections. Design gradually got cleaner, and more sophisticated, although the magazine retained a homey look, with small headlines, generous use of line art and wide columns.

In 1971, the magazine announced plans to build a research center, and offered lifetime subscriptions to the magazine, with profits going to the center. By 1975, the list of "mother's lifers" had grown to 1,450. In 1977, the magazine made it on national television, when Geraldo Rivera, then of ABC's 20/20, did a feature on *TMEN*'s methane-powered car, created at the fledgling research facility. Within two years, the research center was developed, as the magazine pulled out its Ohio roots and moved to Hendersonville, North Carolina.

A column created by *TMEN* was distributed nationally by The Des Moines Register and Tribune Syndicate in 1971. The Mother Earth News Radio, a 65-minute package of programs, was made available free to stations by the magazine.

In the late 1970s, the magazine's focus remained self sufficiency, but with an emphasis on energy efficiency, including plans for solar powered homes, underground houses, wind generators ,the ever-popular methane powered car, woodstoves and dome houses. By this time, Mother's agenda had seeped into the American consciousness:*Better Homes and Gardens* ran articles on woodstoves and dome

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[31] Thom, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-323.

[32] "The Plowboy Interview," *The Mother Earth News*, March 1970, p. 9.

houses and architects were designing high-cost, high-quality underground and solar homes. [33] In 1978, Congress authorized a solar tax credit to encourage the building of new solar homes and the integration of solar technology into existing homes. The 1970s were the decade of the environment, and *TMEN* was a major voice of the movement, speaking to those who believed environmentalism meant a self-sufficient lifestyle.

Increasing stress was evident in Shuttleworth's columns, however, as he regularly talked about working 14-hour days and never having a vacation. Finally, in October, 1978, he gave up the editorship of the magazine to Bruce Woods. In 1980, he sold the magazine to Woods and two other employees, ushering in what staff member Sara Pacher calls "the Golden Age of Mother," with interest in the magazine's self-sufficient focus being fueled by the energy crisis. [34] Circulation grew from 490,000 in 1977 to 939,000 in 1979, going slightly over a million in 1980, 1981 and 1982. By 1983, however, energy conservation was no longer an issue with the American public, and *TMEN*'s circulation moved downward again, to 911,000. It inched down farther, to 893,000 by 1985 and fell to 703,000 by 1990.[35]

Mother herself continued answering letters throughout the history of the magazine although, as the magazine aged, fewer letters rated an answer than in early years. The Access column continued, although content changed dramatically in the late 1970s, with emphasis on energy conservation, home building, remodeling and organic gardening. Letters about communes disappeared with the early 1970s, but readers were still willing to share what they had, although they were often looking for a profit. A letter in the November/December 1980 issue offers *Mother*'s readers the chance to buy moccasins at 20 percent to 40 percent off wholesale prices. Others offered supplementary information on how-to articles and gave suggestions for environmentally sound lifestyles. In the September/October 1985 issue, one reader was so comfortable with the magazine he referred to it as "Mom." In 1980, the magazine ran roughly one page of advertising to every five pages of editorial, a formula that continued until 1985, when ad pages for the year totalled 300.

In 1985, the magazine was purchased by Owen Lipstein, founder of *American Health*, who was optimistic about increasing ad revenues because *TMEN* had "never been sold to Madison Avenue." It was, he said, like "a new launch." The motto was changed again, this time to: "The original country magazine." [36]

Ms: Growth and Change

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[33] See: Larry S. Chalmers and Jeremy A. Jones, AIA, *Homes in the Earth* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1980). and The Underground Space Center, University of Minnesota, *Earth Sheltered Housing Design* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Comany, 1979).

[34] "The Story of Mother Earth News," *The Mother Earth News*, March/April, 1990, p. 98.

[35] *The World Almanac and Book of Facts* (New York: The Newspaper Enterprise Association, 1977). Also, almanacs for 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983 and 1985.

[36] "American Health Repositions The Mother Earth News," *Folio*, February 1986, p. 59.

The founding editors of *Ms* made a decision to limit advertising to products and product messages consistent with the feminist movement. The editors, however, felt they had an editorial product that would be provide an excellent forum for advertisers and strove to made advertising part of their magazine, while maintaining their editorial integrity.

It was a long battle.

In a study of *Ms.* advertising, Ferguson, Kreshel and Tinkham observed that the magazine began as a publication that put its audience first, then gradually changed as it "realized that in order to survive, it had to make advertisers as well as readers happy." The researchers divided the magazine into three five-year time frames: Early (1973-1977), Middle (1978-1982) and Recent (1983-1987). They studied 628 ads, coding them according to the image of women they presented, and analyzed how those images changed over time. They observed increased levels of sexism through the years and concluded that "at least in some respects, advertising practice at *Ms.* magazine has been inconsistent with its stated advertising policy regarding harmful product and sexist advertising content."[37]

In a speech before the American Association of Advertising Agencies in 1987, Steinem said, "*Ms.* won reader support and jeopardized advertiser support for exactly the same reason: the editorial content wasn't dictated by the ads. The readers loved it; many advertisers loved it less. I suggest to you that there's something wrong in a world in which women readers and advertisers trying to reach them don't want the same thing."[38]

Three years later, in the first issue of the advertising-free *Ms.*, Steinem said, "Advertisers--not readers -- have always been the problem for *Ms.*" She contended that the magazine did not play by the accepted women's magazine rules, in which the magazine creates a "supportive editorial atmosphere" for advertising. The *Ms.* editors created a dynamic unacceptable to the advertising world, she said, by expecting audience quality and loyalty -- rather than editorial control -- to draw advertising support. [39]

Because the magazine was so closely tied to the women's movement, Steinem saw any failure on its part as symbolic of a failure of the movement itself: "We knew that if we closed our doors, that we could wrongly be seen as damaging the women's movement. Like losing the Equal Rights Amendment." [40]

But, by Steinem's own admission, the magazine changed editorial content to satisfy advertisers -- changing "Porsche" to "car," in an article on Nazi symbolism, for example, because a valued

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[37] Jill Hicks Ferguson, Peggy J. Kreshel and Spencer F. Tinkham, "In the Pages of Ms: Sex Role Portrayals of Women in Advertising," *Journal of Advertising*, Volume 19, Number 1, 1990, p. 48.

[38] Michael Hoyt, "Damsels in Distress," *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April, 1990, p. 41.

[39] Gloria Steinem, "Sex, Lies and Advertising, *Ms.* Magazine, July/August, 1990, p. 18.

[40] Peggy Orenstein, "Ms. Fights for its Life," *Mother Jones*, November/December, 1990, p. 81

advertiser, Volkswagon, manufacturer of the Porsche, was skittish about being connected with Nazi Germany.[41]

In 1986 the *Ms.* Foundation had begun looking for a buyer for the magazine as a way to keep it alive. Australian publisher John Fairfax, Ltd, bought the magazine in October 1987 and named Anne Summers editor. Summers and other editors then formed Matilda Publications to keep control of *Ms.* and the newly-started *Sassy*. In 1989 , Dale Lang, owner of *Working Woman* and *Working Mother*, bought Matilda Publications. Steinem and other founding editors made no profit from the sales, and moved into the background as new editors took over.

Ms. was redesigned several times, the most obvious being a change to the European size page -- nine inches wide -- and an upgraded paper stock when the magazine was taken over by Fairfax in 1987. Full color photos replaced black and whites, design became livelier, and metallic ink even popped up occasionally -- a gold logo sets off the October 1988 cover.

By that time, feminism had become, as a rule, less militant, and was emphasizing the value of all types of women's work, in the home or out, recognizing the diverse ways in which women as well as men might support women's rights. The use of make-up was acceptable, although the movement still emphasized the natural beauty of women. It might be argued, then, that a more embellished magazine in some ways was a reflection of changes in the movement. That argument wears then after a closer look at the magazine, however. There's a trendiness to the new page size, slicker paper and large color illustrations. The new look of *Ms* seemed a more appropriate reflection of the mainstream of American society rather than of feminists, a society that didn't question the social implications of an emphasis on looks rather than content, in women or in a magazine. The magazine, then, became less representative of its original audience and more representative of a larger, general, more mainstream audience.

Perhaps more than anything, however, the magazine reflected the ambivalence of many women toward the movement, women who didn't feel the need to be militant, feeling instead somewhat sanguine about their lives. Straddling the fence between militancy and traditionalism, *Ms.* could well have been the face of the feminist movement of the late 1980s.

Summers took the magazine back to for-profit status and tried to create an editorial environment conducive to advertising, changing the editorial approach to include a gardening column and a fashion section. She acknowledges that the fashion section turned both readers and advertisers off, but for different reasons -- readers because they didn't care to read about fashion in *Ms.*, advertisers because the women featured had the gall to wear their own clothes.[42]

Eventually, even the magazine's covers began to be influenced by advertisers. Summers planned to put abused woman Hedda Nussbaum on the cover, and lost seven advertisers, although four

[41] *Ibid*, p. 27
[42] *Ibid*.

said they'd come back if she changed the cover. She did, to a "naked woman, a grainy picture that said: 'Dangerous Liaisons: Women & Estrogen, Hedda & Joel, the Supreme Court & Abortions. " [43]

Ferguson, Kreshel and Tinkham concluded that the editorial content in *Ms.* changed so much so that, by the mid 1980s, it resembled that found in traditional women's magazines. However, they acknowledged, the women's movement itself had changed through the years and society had changed along with it. What was considered radical had become more and more acceptable at the same time behavior that was once tolerable had become unacceptable as the definition of sexism has been broadened and refined. [44] Feminism became more widely accepted as more and more traditional magazines -- such as *Glamour* and *Good Housekeeping* -- began dealing with feminist issues, and more magazines were developed based on a feminist foundation -- such as *Working Woman* and *Savvy*. Women's titles were specialized further with publications such as *Women's Sport and Fitness*, started in 1974, before women were even allowed to run in Olympic marathons, and *Essence*, for African-American women.

Other magazines also became involved with women's issues beyond their pages. Hearst Publishing and the editors of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, for example, commissioned the Human Affairs Research Centers of the Batelle Memorial Institute to chart how women's lives had changed from the 1960s to the late 1980s and published the results in the book, *The Changing Lives of American Women.* [45]

Readers of *Ms.* then, had especially high expectations of the magazine that had been the frontrunner of this change and they were disillusioned when that magazine began to look and act like all the others. One reader expressed her dissatisfaction with the evolution of *Ms.*:

> I canceled a long-standing subscription when *Ms.* went 'glitzy' and tried to become another 'women's magazine.' Believe me when I say that was a real wrench to my system I have been a subscriber off and on (mostly on) since issue number one. I really miss the old *Ms.*, the one more interested in what women say and do than in what they wear. [46]

Ms., its audience, and the feminist movement had all changed. Even though the Equal Rights Amendment was eventually defeated, much of the feminist agenda made its way into society. The Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973 in Roe v. Wade, although a more conservative court now may revisit the issue. According to the 1980 census, more than half of all adult women were working outside the home. Among baby boomers, arguably the largest share of the *Ms.* audience, changes were more dramatic: 67 percent of women between the ages of 18 and 34 were in the work force. Nearly 2/3 of women with school-age children were working. [47]

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[43] *Ibid*, p. 28

[44] Ferguson, *op. cit*, p. 49

[45] Steven D. McLaughlin, Barbara D. Melber, John O.G. Billy, Denise M. Zimmerle, Linda D. Winges and Terry R. Johnson, *The Changing Lives of American Women* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

[46] "Letters," *Ms.* Magazine, July/August 1990, p.3.

[47] U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *Marital Status and Living Arrangement: March, 1978.*

The nature of the home was changing along with the workplace. According to Bernard, the "traditional" American family -- with the father as the breadwinner, and the mother as housewife -- lasted roughly 150 years, "from the 1830s to 1980, when the U.S. Census no longer automatically denominated the male as head of the household." Men of the 1980s, she said, were less likely to accept the "good provider role" and more likely to be more involved in family life than their fathers. By the late 1980s, some corporations had instituted flexible hours, part-time options and on-site childcare facilities.[48]

Women no longer automatically expected to get married right out of high school or college -- or at all. Unmarried couples living together dramatically increased from 523,000 in 1970 to 1,137,000 in 1978. Glick and Spanier say that "rarely does social change occur with such rapidity. Indeed, there have been few developments relating to marriage and family life which have been as dramatic as the rapid increase in unmarried cohabitation."[49]

Women's lives were changing, often in ways advocated by *Ms.* and the feminist movement. However, in its search for financial stability, *Ms.*had moved more toward pleasing advertisers and away from its audience and the movement. Other, more traditional magazines were dealing with feminist content, at the same time *Ms* was becoming more like traditional women's magazines.

Much remains on the feminist agenda, however: Only one woman in the history of the country has been nominated for the vice-presidency, none has been nominated for president, and of nine Supreme Court justices, only one is a woman. Advertising in women's magazines still pictures women as happy homemakers, obsessing about rings around their husbands' collars. The Persian Gulf War gave Americans the chance to see women marching off to battle. However, the were still barred from the front lines and weren't allowed to fly combat planes.

Women interested in dealing with some of these issues found little in common with a *Ms.* with metallic ink and fashion spreads.

The Mother Earth News: Refocus or Death

The Reagan Era of the 1980s was possibly the antithesis of the era in which *TMEN* was born. The ideal of living on less was replaced by the goal of accumulating more. The concept of country became associated with decorating, collecting and living *on* the land, but not *off* it. Wall Street was king, and the term "yuppie" came to characterize many of the baby boomers who no longer were interested in activism but, rather, aspired to high-paying jobs and expensive houses and cars. Condos had replaced communes.

The energy crisis became a non-issue as sources for inexpensive oil were developed and the lines at the gas pumps disappeared. The solar tax credit was abolished in 1986. The inflation of the 1970s, however, left a permanent mark on the back-to-the-land- movement. Real estate prices had

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[48] Jessie Bernard, "The Good Provider Role: Its Rise and Fall," *American Psychologist*, 36:1, January, 1981, p.p. 1-12.
[49] Paul C. Glick and Graham B. Spanier, "Married and Unmarried Cohabitation in the United States, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 42:1, February 1980. Cited in The Adult Years, Continuity and Change (Ohio University, 1985), p.128.

risen to the point that the the American Dream of a home was no longer affordable for some. The ads in the early issues of *TMEN*, offering land for $50 an acre, took on an aura of unreality by the 1980s. One ad, in the May 1973 issue of the magazine, offered a two-bedroom home in Sherman Oaks, California, for $35,000. The home is currently appraised at $500,000.[50]

Decades never neatly delineate eras, however, and much of the 1970s idealism remained in the early 1980s, with *TMEN* riding the crest. By the mid-1980s, though, as the magazine came under Lipstein's control, much of the country was comfortably entrenched in a consumerism mentality. Many of the changes in the magazine after 1985, then, reflect not only a changing culture but changing ownership and a changing perception of readers. Lipstein succeeded in promoting the magazine to advertisers. *Advertising Age* named *The Mother Earth News* as one of the ten "hot" magazines of 1988, along with *American Heritage, Elle, Good Housekeeping, Entrepreneur, Lears, Metropolitan Home, People, Vanity Fair* and *Victoria.*

The same year, *Adweek* named *TMEN* one of the ten hottest small magazines, in a list including *Business Month, European Travel and Life, World Tennis, American Heritage, Savvy Woman* and *Soap Opera Digest.* According to *Adweek, TMEN* saw a 33.5 percent increase in ad pages in 1988 and a 38.7 percent increase in ad revenue. The magazine Lipstein was promoting, however, was different from the one the Shuttleworths had started. *Ad Age* defined the magazine's focus in explaining its strength: "The continued strong interest in home and property will bode well for *Mother Earth News*, the once back-to-the-land hippie journal that has been redesigned for yuppies." Lipstein was obviously so comfortable with this characterization he used it in promotional material for the magazine.[51]

The back-to-the-land movement was as dated as hippies, both artifacts of the 1960s and 1970s, certainly not appropriate to the decade of the consumer. The new *TMEN*, the *TMEN* that sold to advertisers, was geared to the consumer of the 1980s, interested in home and property .

This was a new magazine with a new look. The first full-color cover photograph appeared on the September/October, 1985 issue, in a tiny mortise of a frost-proof garden. After that, color photographs, usually of individuals in a country setting, became a staple. Interior pages were still uncoated, but quality stock was used, and color photographs increased in size and frequency. Headlines became larger and more white space was used for a cleaner, more urbane look.

The back-to-the land movement was partially subsumed by the environmental movement, and *TMEN* became one of many voices of that movement. However, as one of many environmental magazines, *TMEN* competed with old standards such *Audubon* as well as new starts like Garbage and *E.* As a country magazine, *TMEN* also competed with the growing number of country magazines -- *Country Living, Country Home, Country, Country Journal. Harrowsmith,* which probably competed most

[50] Appraisal provided by current owner.
[51] Promotional Flyer from The Mother Earth News, undated.

directly with *TMEN*, changed its name in 1990 to *Country Life*. In 1990, Hearst started *Countryside*, a blend of Mother's country emphasis and *Metropolitan Home's* sophisticated trendiness.

A highly successful new start of the late 1980s, *The Utne Reader*, in fact , might have brought the alternative magazine concept full circle. Promoting itself as "the best of the alternative press," *The Utne Reader*, like the early *TMEN*, was a storehouse of alternative information from other publications. Editor Eric Utne's other magazine, *The New Age Journal*, became a voice of the New Age movement, perhaps a successor to the New Life movement Shuttleworth promoted. In many ways, in fact, the New Age movement reflected much of the back-to-the-land movement's political and social rhetoric. Missing, of course, was the essential rural lifestyle element.

[52]In the "News from *TMEN*" column in the magazine's January/February 1990 issue, editor Bruce Woods acknowledged that *TMEN* lost readers in the mid-1980s, but said these were people who were concerned only with the energy crisis and who disappeared when the crisis faded. The solid core of *TMEN* readers, he said, were different; they didn't change their "ideals with the seasons," but maintained their interest in the environmental movement and in *TMEN* as a "how-to" publication of that movement. Nowhere in the letter is a reference to the back-to-the-land movement. Woods presented the magazine as a practical guide for the ecologically concerned.

Letter writers, however, disagreed, saying the magazine looked like it was "aimed at 'eco-yuppies' and a 'bordello for lawnmowers.'" In 1990, the motto was changed simply to "The original," dropping all reference to country. "The original," however, had become just one magazine among many doing the same thing. It had lost its special focus, its appeal to the frontier spirit, to individual initiative, to the ideals of a simpler life. It was now a marketing tool rather than the voice of a movement. Articles appearing in *TMEN* could have appeared in countless other country, environmental or women's magazines: "The Outdoor Gourmet " (July/August 1989) on cooking tips for "the backcountry or your own backyard"; Ecological Lawn Care" (May-June 1990) on ecologically-sound ways of keeping up with the Joneses; and "Build a Classic Dollhouse" (November/December, 1989).

The Mother Earth News celebrated the 20th anniversary of the magazine and of Earth Day with the March/April, 1990 issue, edited by Alfred Meyer. In "News from Mother," Meyer announced that the contents of the magazine would be beamed by satellite to Mount Everest, and sent to world leaders. Stock was lightly coated, full color photographs were huge and everywhere, and the design included sophisticated elements such as large headlines, dropped initials and wrap-around type. The logo was changed to a lighter, airier typeface. The tone of the articles was professional, but removed from the audience. Articles concerned the environment, but how-to tips were usually limited to the letters column. First person was occasionally used, but in a clean, professional -- certainly not chatty -- tone. Full color covers remained a mainstay, but were more dramatic and less homey. For example the May-June 1990 issue featured a "radical fisherman" in bright yellow slicker silhouetted against

an ominously dark sky and blue-black water. Most cover models were unknowns, but Willie Nelson popped up in May/June 1987 in an article on Farm Aid.

Issue 125, September/October 1990 was the last for a year. It featured a moody cover with a young couple, mother holding the baby, father drawing water from the well, with sunbeams drenching the whole family. The magazine looked like a poetic version of *Audubon*, with one photo-heavy article on the return of the wolves to Yellowstone and another about a pianist in California who brings her Steinway to concerts in small western towns. A full-page photograph shows her playing the piano on a sage-filled plain, with mountains in the background; she's wearing a full length gown, her long hair blowing in the breeze.

Lisa Quinn, public relations representative for *The Mother Earth News*, says readers "freaked out" over the new issue, saying it was too urban, too slick and cancelling their subscriptions.[53] Lipstein responded by naming a new editor, Michael Segell, formerly features editor of *American Health*. Segell's goal, according to Lipstein, was to return the magazine "to its original design and editorial positioning -- practical advice for natural living."[54]

But which original? Shuttleworth's? Woods? Shuttleworth's original was built on a back-to-the-land movement that no longer existed in its original form. The magazine's strength derived from the strength of the movement, and from its strength as a major voice in that movement. Losing connection with the movement caused the magazine to lose its focus.

Segell never had his chance to define, or redefine, the original *TMEN*. Lipstein sold the magazine to Seeichi Hasumi, chairman of the Japanese Independent Communication, Inc. who planned to move the magazine from its North Carolina home to upstate New York. After several months of speculation, Hasumi suspended the magazine in a dispute with Lipstein about the financial health of the magazine and its sister publications, *American Health* and *Psychology Today*.

As with many magazines, *Mother's* death was gradual and was based on business decisions. But at the heart of the magazine business is the audience. Without audience connection, the magazine has no reason to exist. When *TMEN* lost that, the rest was inevitable.

Reports of the magazine's death, however, were premature. In August/September 1991, Lipstein reintroduced the magazine, and returned to the motto, "The Original Country Magazine." The magazine is supported by money from an anonymous donor, who requested that Lipstein return as a staff member rather than as "the boss." Lipstein said the magazine would return to the format of what he called "The Mother that everyone liked best." It uses color sparingly, has an uncoated stock and is full of practical gardening, cooking and workshop ideas. The "News From Mother" column speaks of audience reaction to the magazine's 1989-90 changes and eventual death:

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53 Personal discussion, October 12, 1990.

54 "Michael Segell Named Editor of Mother Earth News." News release from The Mother Earth News, undated.

> You rightly told us that the last three or four issues didn't deliver useful tips and practical information on how to live wisely and responsibly in the country. One subscriber compared her disillusionment with the new MOTHER to the way she felt when John Lennon was murdered. You knew it and we knew it: MOTHER no longer was MOTHER....

Although the back-to-the-land movement had faded as an artifact of the 1970s, the interest in back-to-the-land issues remained. Americans still see nature and the country as a refuge from urban problems and as a means of reconnecting with traditional roots. Lipstein hopes the new *Mother Earth News* will make that connection.

Essentially, then, the magazine has come full circle, returning to its roots while changing its approach to match changes in its audience and society as a whole. That audience has retained its back-to-the-land ideals, but has fine-tuned them with some 1990s realism. The "new" Mother, then, is geared to a new audience, one that existed before its restart. The difference in this incarnation of the cycle is that the magazine itself had a hand in creating that audience. In addition, the magazine's redevelopment exists in an environment full of other magazine voices competing for that audience.

MS: Refocus or Death

Even though audience members were alienated, there remained the diehard readers, many of whom had been raised with *Ms.* One letter writer in the July/August 1990 issue spoke of being born in the same year as *Ms.* and growing up with the magazine. Another wrote of the friends she met at a preschool 16 years ago, friends with whom she'd grown through the feminist philosophy. [55]

The question was, though, was this a new audience, requiring a new magazine, or did the old audience remain, wanting a return to the original *Ms.*? And, if so, how had that original audience changed?

Summers says she was worried about "tampering with this American institution" and conceded the magazine was "too soft." But, she said, business worries were a major focus in the two years she edited the magazine. [56]

Robin Morgan, speaking of what she calls the magazine's "Australian period," said, "The sheer effort of trying to be everything to everybody meant reaching a lowest common denominator to some degree."[57]

Ms. was not profitable under Fairfax or Matilda ownership. From 1985 to 1988 ad pages dropped 38 percent. Significantly, however, circulation rose, peaking at 548,708 in 1988, a gain of 18 percent from 1985. Advertising rose slightly -- 11 percent -- in 1989, while circulation dropped by a tiny 1 percent.[58]

The magazine's 17th anniversary issue, August 1989, featured a giant cover line, printed in blood red on a black background: "It's War!" in reaction to the Supreme Court's decision in the Webster

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[55] *Ibid.*

[56] "*Ms* Fights for Its Life," *op. cit*, p.82.

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] Michael Hoyt, "When the Walls Come Tumbling Down," *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 1990, p. 41.

case, allowing states the latitude to limit abortion rights. In her editor's essay, Summers said it was time to "really fight" for reproductive freedom. What's most notable about the issue is its lack of advertising. Advertisers complained that the magazine was too strident and pulled their advertising. Subsequent issues got thinner and thinner, with ad pages dwindling, until October, 1989, when owner Dale Lang shut down the magazine entirely.

Less than a year later, the magazine was republished by Lang as *Ms.: The World of Women.* The "new" *Ms.* is based on the original philosophy, and is free of advertising. Morgan, the new editor promised "no slick pages and no slick thinking." She now refers to the revised magazine as "the liberated Ms."[59]

Interestingly, in the year between the end of the old *Ms.* and the beginning of the new, many women's organizations enjoyed significant growth built on the threat of the loss of reproductive rights. The movement itself changed as women became less complacent.

The new *Ms.* is a combination of the old and the new, as is its audience. The magazine polled readers for content suggestions and learned, not surprisingly, that readers didn't want to read about fashion, celebrities, gardening or make-up. They did want to read about lesbian issues, relationships, parenting, international news, spirituality, health, environmental issues, fiction, older women, politics, child care, profiles of women, reproductive rights, feminist theory, humor and literary reviews. Morgan promised more reader involvement.

The first two issues of the ad-free *Ms.* sold out on the newsstands; by the third issue, the magazine had more than 100,000 subscribers. Subscribers actually paid more than newsstand buyers -- a one-year subscription for six issues ran $40 ($30 with a discount for former subscribers), with the per-copy cost at $4.50. Publisher Ruth Bower, interviewed in the fall of 1990, after two issues of the magazine had been printed, said she was confident the magazine would survive its first year. To survive, she said, the new magazine had to have top editorial quality because it was entirely subscriber-driven.[60]

Like the original *Ms.*, the republished version has no full color inside the magazine, paper stock is uncoated and the design is direct and straightforward, although sophisticated graphics and the use of spot color indicate the magazine is geared to a visually literate readership.. Many of the original writers are back -- Alice Walker, Gloria Steinem, Toni Morrison.

The magazine even had the confidence to make fun of its former self. Its classic "No Comment" department, showcasing "bad ads" was reinstated; in the premier issue, the bad ads either had appeared in, or were ads for, *Ms.* magazine in the 1980s.

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59 Comments in lecture at Drake University, April 2, 1992.

60 "No Ads? No sweat. *Ms*'s Ruth Bower is '100 Percent Confident' That the Title Will Fly," ***Folio's Publishing News,*** November 15, 1990, p.23.

One reader offered advice to the new *Ms*: "More than anything, feminism insists on the collective and individual relevance of women's lives. This fact defines my life. May it define your second life as well." [61]

Ms., then, is essentially restarting its cycle, speaking to a changed audience and providing the comment that glues audience members together. Feminism has broadened its base, becoming, as a movement, more mainstream than in the early 1970s, although, admittedly, radical elements still provide a certain amount of energy and impetus.

If contemporary feminists are already well served by the host of new women's magazines -- *Working Women, Working Mother, Savvy, Self* -- as well as by the old standards -- *Glamour, Redbook, Ladies Home Journal* -- *Ms.* will have no constituency and no future. If, however, it succeeds, it will help prove that the allegiance between audience and a social movement magazine is strong enough to support the magazine without advertising income.

Conclusion

The histories of *The Mother Earth News* demonstrate that a life cycle specific to social movement magazines and their audiences exists, is circular, and can be represented by a four-step model:

Step One: Emergence of the Audience
Before the magazine is started, the audience already exists, consisting of individuals and small groups who are only loosely connected, if at all. These individuals and groups form the nucleus of the social movement. The founders of the magazine are members of the audience and, often, leaders of the movement.

Step Two: Creation of the Magazine
The creation of the magazine pulls these individuals and groups together. At this time, the magazine is characterized by a personal tone and unpretentious look. The audience starts out small and is highly committed to the cause as well as the magazine. The editor is closely connected with the magazine as well as with the movement .

Step Three: Growth and Change
To grow, the magazine strives to reach a broader audience. As part of the process, the magazine looks more to advertising to help generate revenue. This makes the magazine less of a voice of the community it helped solidify as it becomes more attuned to the needs of advertisers. The magazine becomes less personal and places more emphasis on design. The success of the magazine leads to the development of other magazines with similar content to serve the audience, indicative of a certain mainstreaming of the movement. The founding editor or editors leave the magazine, perhaps selling it to business interests outside the movement.

Step Four: Refocus or Death
The magazine's relationship with the audience reaches a critical point, as some readers accuse the magazine of failing its original constituents and others accuse it of not changing enough to suit changing social realities. This forces either a change in the magazine or in its target audience. Failure to successfully refocus leads to the death of the magazine. No matter what the fate of the magazine, however, the audience remains in some form, having changed as society

[61] "Letters," *Ms.: The World of Women*, March/April, 1991, pp.4-6.

and the movement changed. This audience may be served by some form of the original magazine or it may have moved to other magazines more suited to its changed needs.

Looking at a magazine's life cycle as a circular development acknowledges that the audience exists in some form before and after the magazine and that the magazine's ability to solidify that audience into a loyal core of readers is basic to the magazine's success. The life cycle developed through this study acknowledges that the audience is constantly changing and the magazine must change appropriately to remain attuned to that audience.

The analysis of the specific life cycles of social movement magazines allows for the analysis of audience change in the face of social change. Audiences of such magazines are well-defined, existing as groups independent of the magazine, and their change and development is well documented.

Since both *The Mother Earth News* and *Ms.* were started in the early 1970s, their histories converge in many ways. The women's environmental movements both had roots in the student movement of the 1960s. Eyerman and Jamison contend that both movements represented specializations of the broader New Left agenda. In fact, they state, "Both feminism and environmentalism are inconceivable without the student movement of the 1960s." [62]

The growing environmental movement of the 1970s had its champions in the feminist movement. Through the years, *Ms.* contained a growing number of environmental articles and *TMEN* developed a stronger feminist perspective. Eco-feminism was the logical outgrowth of the connection between the two magazines. In fact, readers of the new *Ms.* told editors they were interested in reading articles about the environment and the magazine responded with a regular department titled Ecofeminism. A cover line on the first anniversary issue, July/August 1991, states: "You *Can* Go Back to the Land."

In the early 1990s, feminism got an infusion of new energy as Supreme Court decisions threatened reproductive rights and reduced the opportunities for job discrimination suits. The 1990s saw the growth of radical environmental groups, perhaps best exemplified by Earth First! and Deep Ecologists, angered at a decade of environmental decline.

The original audience of *Ms.* remains to some degree, although it has changed. The feminists of the early 1970s gave matured, some have mellowed, and younger feminists have joined their ranks. The new *Ms.* has the opportunity to link with that audience, but the challenge is to do it in a manner inconsistent with the business tradition of American magazines -- without advertising support.

The original audience of *TMEN* has changed, and the back-to-the-land movement has faded as an artifact of the 1970s. The interest in back-to-the-land issues remains, as Americans still see nature and the country as a refuge from urban problems and as a means of reconnecting with traditional roots, and perhaps the new *Mother* will fill that void. The original *TMEN* was an institution, a tradition.

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[62] Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Social Movements. A Cognitive Approach.* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991)., p.163.

Many magazines can do, and are doing, what it did. In fact, its very success spawned these other magazines, which then adroitly tapped into *TMEN*'s changed audience. It's questionable, however, whether these magazines have the connecting power of *TMEN*. They provide solid information and service, but do not necessarily offer social connectedness. Social connectedness, of course, may be a product only of a social movement magazine. It may, in fact, be what differentiates social movement magazines from other magazines. Consumer magazines in general have no intention of solidifying groups, of tying movements together. Their concern is in serving their audiences, not creating communities.

Conversely, however, the very nature of an audience implies some solidarity and, to an extent, all magazines thrive only when they have achieved that solidarity. With a social movement magazine, that solidarity is obvious, easily defined and has a political agenda. It may, however, be no less important in other magazines.

Discussion

The concept of a magazine life cycle is temptingly neat and tidy, an attempt to wrap a complicated reality into a simple package. Moreover, mapping the development of a magazine concurrently with the development of a social movement within the confines of a paper requires simplification. Such simplification, however, can provide understanding by making us look at the development of a magazine differently.

Continued research is needed to study the value of the four-step model . Other magazines started in the volatile 1960s and early 1970s could shed light on the histories of *The Mother Earth News* and *Ms. Rolling Stone* has undergone a variety of mutations and has wrestled with pleasing advertisers. How do these changes fit the model? Do they fit at all? *Mother Jones*, the magazine voice of the New Left, has taken a different approach, maintaining a low amount of advertising while soliciting funds from readers and supporters. Does it fit the model? If so, how? It could be valuable to do a long-term study on the"new" *Mother Earth News* and *Ms.* as well.

Because the proposed life cycle model is circular, it allows for the development of a new magazine to suit the needs of an existing audience that is dissatisfied with the original magazine. Could *TMEN* and *E* represent two related cycles, both building on the same audience as it grows and develops?

Such an approach would not only help explain the lives of other magazines, but would show the interrelationship between one magazine and another as well as the relationships between magazines and their audiences. Moreover, it would represent a fresh approach to magazine research, making us look beyond the parameters of one specific magazine and its audience, into analyzing magazines as social entities.

Inside a Repositioning:
The innerworkings of the move
from *Steel* to *Industry Week*

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Inside a Repositioning:
The innerworkings of the move
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Each year, dozens of magazines are repositioned.[1] The move may come in reaction to market shifts,[2] demographic variations[3] or, even, changes in ownership.[4] But, aside from brief announcements in *Advertising Age* or *Folio,* little is written as to why and how a repositioning comes about.[5] The reasons behind--and the inside story of--the repositioning are likely to be locked in advertising, circulation and editorial files, forgotten and seldom resurrected for analysis. Yet, repositionings are vital parts of the life cycles in magazines.[6]

Repositionings represent management decision-making in action. They shed light on the business forces and the hunches behind management decisions, which could spell success or failure for a magazine. Repositionings also illustrate the innerworkings of sales, editorial and circulation, working distinctly and as a team. Yet few academic studies deal with the topic of repositionings.[7]

This paper will focus on one repositioning to ascertain why and how it came about. It attempts to document and analyze the story behind the move from *Steel* to *Industry Week.* This study relies not only on published accounts issued at the time of the repositioning, but also uses heretofore unavailable corporate records--memos, summaries of meetings, financial reports and letters--as

well as interviews with each of the major operatives in the *Steel-Industry Week* repositioning.[8]

All repositionings involve risks;[9] but in the shift from *Steel* to *Industry Week*, Penton Publishing was taking a big gamble. For all intents, Penton was folding one of its best known and most profitable publications--*Steel*--for the unknown *Industry Week.*

In one swift move, Penton was expanding the magazine's advertising and circulation bases, shifting its editorial focus and renaming the book. Few publishing companies have ever made such a drastic overhaul in a repositioning.[10] Thus, Penton had no real examples to follow.[11] Yet, as the past 20 plus years has shown, that drastic repositioning has been a switch for the better--and the more profitable. Moreover, the drastic repositioning has brought the magazine's history full circle.

Steel had its roots in the industrial Midwest, Cleveland, Ohio. Dating back to January 1868,the weekly, then called Trade *Review*, was a regional business publication. It was renamed *Iron Trade Review* once its focus shifted to the metalworking industry.[12]

That repositioning meant prosperity and the weekly soon became the leading spokesman for the metalworking industry in the Central West.[13] Its regional definition meant that the *Iron Trade Review* did not really emerge from the shadow of *Iron Age*, its primary competition.

Of course, *Iron Trade Review* was not really in a position to compete with *Iron Age. ITR* was plagued with a measure of instability. In the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, *Iron Trade Review* went through a succession of owners.[14] Stability only

came to the weekly when it joined forces with *Foundry* under the newly organized Penton Publishing in 1904. Even then, prospects did not look bright. During the next 10 years, company president John Penton had to deal with chronic cash shortages. Nonetheless, *Iron Trade Review* --as a publication --prospered editorially, establishing a reputation for accurate, enterprise reporting.[15]

In 1917, Charles J. Stark took over as *ITR* editor. Ten years later, Stark was president of Penton. During his tenure, Penton Publishing grew and Stark took advantage of his many stock options. Stark figured prominently in the *Steel-Industry Week* repositioning more than 50 years later. In 1969, Stark--as the principle stockholder of Penton--threw his support to the proposal and thereby guaranteed *Industry Week*.

By 1930, the *Iron Trade Review* name no longer seemed appropriate in the metalworking realities of the day. On July 3, 1930, *Iron Trade Review* was renamed *Steel* and the magazine was redesigned. The move was a costly one for Penton. *ITR* went from its best year ever in 1929 to a major profit decline as *Steel* in 1930.[16] By 1935, *Steel* recovered enough to boast that it was the "fastest growing publication in the iron, steel and metalworking field."[17]

Once past the lean Depression years, *Steel* reached a new level of profitability. Three- and four-hundred page issues were not uncommon. Once *Steel* shifted to controlled, nonpaid circulation in the 1950s, readership increased three fold.[18] Advertising followed readership. The 1950s offered unparalleled prosperity on the business side and laurels on the editorial side. *Steel* became known

for its editorial excellence both within the specialized business field--and outside of it.[19]

In the process, *Steel* emerged from *Iron Age*'s shadow. Penton's weekly had become the dominant publication in the metalworking industry. There it remained in the 1960s, profitable, nationally recognized--and about to go through the throes of changes the likes of which few magazines had ever experienced.

There was no single reason for the changes to *Steel*. Part of the reasoning lay in the metalworking marketplace. By the early 1960s, the United States steel industry was already shrinking not only because of cheaper imports but also because of changes within the corporate structure of the industry itself. Conglomerates gobbled up steel companies. That converted to a constricted advertising base. In early 1960, the traditional metalworking magazines, including *Steel* and *Iron Age*, shared 20,000 pages of advertising. By 1968, that number was down to 12,000 with nothing to indicate that the trend would change.[20] Moreover, *Steel* was facing competition from new, more specialized publications. Sal Marino, then executive vice president, characterized it as a "vicious, competitive battle," which included the new publications as well as the old standby, the formidable *Iron Age*.[21] *Steel* was still the most profitable periodical in the pack but had started starting to feel the pinch. The weekly went from 4,436 ad pages in 1966 to 3,874 in 1968.[22]

On the editorial side, *Steel*, the venerable news magazine of metalworking, was facing another set of problems. In the late 1960s, a weekly tabloid, *Metalworking News*, was launched to cover breaking news in the industry. This tabloid was scooping *Steel* in

the breaking news area, recalled Robert Huber, then executive editor of the magazine. Hindered by the long lead time then required for magazine production, *Steel* could do little to improve its competitive edge against the tabloid, Huber admitted.[23]

Something had to be done. But nothing quite so radical probably would be attempted without two individuals: Walt Campbell, editor of *Steel*, and San Marino, former publisher of the magazine and then executive vice president of Penton.

Walt Campbell was "Mr. Steel," a man who, because of his long association with the magazine, had emerged as a symbol of the entire metalworking industry. Campbell was an institution at Penton. He emerged as managing editor under editor Irwin H. Such. When Such was named editor in chief in 1956, Campbell took over as editor, responsible for the day-to-day operations of the magazine. When Such was named vice president of editorial for Penton, Campbell remained editor, not receiving the editor in chief title until the eve of the switch to *Industry Week* in 1969. It was Campbell who became the "architect" of the editorial side of the new magazine.

During his 40 years with Penton, Campbell had made his share of enemies. Some of this was a matter of personality, some a matter of editorial vision. In 1958, Campbell, then editor under Irwin Such, went directly to Penton president George Hayes with a bold idea to change *Steel*. In a 1958 memo, Campbell proposed converting *Steel* into a magazine for industrial management. Such was not informed of Campbell's plan but Hayes was "enchanted" with the idea, recalled the editor. Penton business officers were not, however. In 1958, *Steel* was headed for yet another outstanding year. "The attitude of

most of management...was not to rock the boat," Campbell remembered. Corporate leadership wouldn't abide tinkering with one of the company's biggest money makers. Nothing came of the idea--yet.[24]

The second person responsible for the swift to *Industry Week* was Sal Marino. Compared to Campbell, Marino was a relative newcomer to *Steel*. Brought into the magazine in the early 1950s, Marino was given the enviable job of selling subscriptions to a magazine which was converting to nonpaid circulation. Marino soon moved on to promotions director, business manager and finally publisher in 1963.[25] Even before he got the title of publisher, Marino had become a power within Penton. In 1962, just ten years after joining the company, Marino had been named vice president. By 1968, Marino became executive vice president--and the youngest voting member of the Penton board. Marino's rapid rise through the ranks of *Steel* illustrates two things about this man--he was ambitious and he knew how to make things happen. Marino did not come up with the idea of converting *Steel* into a broad management book but he transformed it from Campbell's pet notion into a reality. Today, Penton employees are fond of saying that Campbell was the mother of *Industry Week* but Marino was its father. However, in light of some of the interpersonal tensions which arose between these two talented individuals, it is a wonder that *Industry Week* was ever conceived much less born. But this gets ahead of the story.

By 1969, Marino was a power within Penton and in a position to make major changes to *Steel*--if he saw fit. By then, Marino had assumed responsibility for half the Penton books, the most powerful

of which was *Steel*. The other half of the magazines, including the tremendously successful *Machine Design*, fell under Robert Hartford. This established a competition between Marino and Hartford for the future control of the company. In 1969, Hartford was elected president of Penton, under chairman Russ Jaenke. Nonetheless, the division of the magazines remained and Marino remained a powerful force within the company.

This, then, forms the management environment under which the business decisions regarding*Steel* were made. It fails, however, to explore the interpersonal dynamics between Marino and Campbell, the two individuals so vital to the future of *Industry Week*.

Some of the tension may have emanated from the distinct perspective each brought to the *Steel-Industry Week* repositioning. Marino came up through the business side, Campbell the editorial. Campbell particularly, was sensitive to that distinction. Indeed, he built a wall between his editorial department and the business side.[26]

Some of the tension may have been due to the different career patterns of these two individuals. Marino's meteoritic rise at Penton stood in contrast to Campbell's slower but nonetheless impressive rise within *Steel*.

Whatever the reason, tension between Marino and Campbell did exist. A number of individuals involved in the launch noted it--although each used different terms to characterize it, from "personality conflict" to "friction." This tension or friction operated in the background. In spite of the tension, however, the two worked

well enough together to achieve the goal both wanted, *Industry Week*, a broad-based industrial management book.

After the corporate leaders on the business side rejected Campbell's ideas in 1958, the editor went back to *Steel* convinced he was right. *Steel* magazine of 1959 and the 1960s illustrated the editor's commitment to the industrial management idea. While *Steel* remained primarily a metalworking book, Campbell offered many features on management. For example, *Steel*'s first issue of 1959 offered "The Changing Role of Metal Working Managers." By the 1960s, the word metalworking was often dropped from titles of management features--"New Goals for Managers' Mental Health" and "How Computers Will Reshape Management" were typical.[27] These features never predominated, however. *Steel* still maintained its weekly listings of current metal prices, trends in metals and technical articles in metal working production.[28] Yet, the management articles were enjoying enormous favorable readership response.[29]

Thus, editorially, Campbell had not given up on his broad-based industrial management book; but he had, apparently, changed tactics, giving up on convincing top corporate management of its merit. Instead, his attention was shifted to the top *Steel* people. Here the idea received a warmer reception; and, in the process, Campbell convinced the next generation of Penton's corporate leadership. Thus, when the advertising declines forced Penton to rethink *Steel*, Marino and others from the business side were prepared to move on Campbell's ideas.

The business leadership of *Steel* first learned of Campbell's ideas at a top level meeting of the magazine's departmental heads. The exact date is cloudy in the records of Penton and the memories of those attending. Variously said to be 1963, 1964 or 1965,[30] the meeting marked the first realistic beginnings of the repositioning. The exact date of this meeting is important, however. These early years illustrate that this was too soon for a clearly defined advertising trend in the metalworking industry to be apparent .

At that meeting, Campbell reintroduced his idea of an industrial management book, basing his idea on changes he saw developing within the metalworking industry. As James Gillam, then sales director and soon to be *Steel* and *Industry Week* publisher, recalled, "Walt brought us to our collective feet with a penetrating look into the future of the metalworking industry...." Campbell predicted changes within the metalworking industry which would detrimentally effect *Steel*. Steel companies would diversify, and conglomerates would gobble up independent metalworking companies. Campbell actually underestimated those trends, Gillam later realized. "He [Campbell] predicted the move to conglomerization, but even he wasn't able to foretell the extent to which it would go."

Those management changes, argued Campbell, meant different readership needs. Gillam recalled,

> He [Campbell] told us that our readers, the managers of the metalworking industries, would have to spend increasingly more of their time and effort in managing money, men, machinery, and materials to produce a profit. That they would be less and less interested in the technical aspects of production.

> He suggested that STEEL would have to move editorially with these changes and at that time, indicated that five or ten years from now our magazine's name would be changed to something like The Manufacturing Manager.[31]

Although Campbell's presentation focused primarily on readership needs, the message was not lost on the business side of *Steel*. Fewer companies meant less advertising. Less advertising meant reduced profits. Yet, at this point, *Steel* did not seem to be immediately threatened. There was no real need for speed in enacting any of the changes Campbell proposed. Nonetheless, at that meeting, key individuals were introduced to Campbell's vision, an alternative for *Steel*'s future if the changes that the editor predicted came to pass. The most important of those individuals convinced was Sal Marino, publisher of *Steel*.

It is hard to pinpoint an exact date when Marino decided that the time was right for the move from *Steel* to *Industry Week*. It probably occurred sometime in 1968 (the 100th anniversary of the book) when two factors forced some sort of decision: a clearcut trend of decline in advertising revenue (and profit) and increased pressure on the editorial side from *Metalworking News*. Marino was aware of both issues. He had always kept tract of the business/advertising side, enjoying a close working relationship with Jim Gillam. Even though he cultivated a wall between editorial and business, Campbell and Huber had kept Marino informed about the increasing editorial competition from the new tabloid. All agreed that something had to be done.

At this point, Marino began commissioning research groups to look into possible changes to *Steel*. Politz Organization did research on the reading and professional needs of managers. Harvey Research and AMS did other studies and *Steel*'s editorial department charted readership response to management features. In the end, however, Marino admitted that the final decision to convert *Steel* to *Industry Week* was a hunch--a "gut-driven decision." The scientific studies only confirmed what Campbell, Marino and Gillam already knew--*Steel* had to change if it was to survive. A wide variety of options were discussed;[32] but a broad-based industrial management book seemed to be the ideal solution. The decreased advertising revenue and the new competitive editorial problems had forced the move. The research substantiated the hunch.[33]

The resulting action came so quickly that many in the *Steel-Industry Week* story were taken by surprise.

With outside research in place, the top business and editorial management of *Steel* in agreement, the rush toward *Industry Week* started in earnest. In May 1969, Marino formally asked Campbell if he would be "the architect" for a still unnamed industrial management magazine. Campbell agreed. At the same time, Gillam was tapped to work with Patrick Keefe, then *Steel* business director, to work out the details on the business side.[34]

Marino began covering bases with the board of directors. Memorial Day weekend found him aboard the Penton president's boat, ironing out the final details of the proposal that would soon come before the company's board of directors.[35] At that meeting, Sal

Marino, the youngest director, recommended a radical change to *Steel* magazine, still one of the cornerstones of Penton.

Armed with research, advertising trends and the full support of *Steel* management, Marino faced the Penton board. Facts, figures, research and industry trends supported Marino's recommendations. However, board approval was by no means guaranteed. Many things worked against it. First, *Steel* was a Penton tradition. It formed one of the cornerstones of the publishing company itself. Penton and *Steel* had been synonymous for decades. Second, the idea of the switch had its share of enemies. Irwin Such, still vice president of editorial but not a voting member, remained vehemently opposed. Third, the move was proposed by the youngest member of the board.

In spite of this, the move was approved. Marino had done his homework. Hartford had been convinced as was CEO Russ Jaenke. After debate, the measure passed. It still faced one last hurdle--Charles Stark, 88. The Stark family, particularly Charles Stark, former *Iron Trade Review* editor and biggest Penton stockholder, supported the conversion. With that approval, the rush to *Industry Week* accelerated.[36]

From that point on, everything and everyone at *Steel/Industry Week* were put in fast forward. The staff on the business and editorial side had only six months to plan *Industry Week.* Penton planned to open the new decade with this "new" magazine. *Industry Week* was slated to premier on January 5, 1970.

Heretofore, all discussions on this broad-based industrial management book had been held in a close circle of individuals of

Penton and *Steel*. Gillam, Keefe, Campbell and Huber knew that changes might be in the offing for *Steel* and the secret was closely guarded. No one on the business or editorial side--outside of these four--had been privy to the plans. The editorial and the business side found out at the same time, after the Penton board of directors had approved the shift. Marino made the announcement.

Both Stanley Modic, *Steel* news editor, and Perry Pascarella, managing editor, emphasized the utter shock when the announcement was made. Neither had an inkling that the change was planned.[37]

Shock spread quickly through the editorial department. Few on the editorial side had time to wallow in surprise. They were too busy either looking for new jobs or designing the new magazine.

Some long-time *Steel* editors left. Ten of the 30 editors left in 1969: three to retirement, the others to new jobs.[38] As a result, Campbell was increasingly isolated. There was a "generation gap" between Campbell, near retirement age, and most of the remaining editorial staff, still in their 20s and 30s. The actual planning for the editorial content of the new magazine was left to the "younger" generation, Modic and Pascarella, working under Campbell's direction.

These two had to start from scratch. Although discussions had been held before the board's vote, no real planning had been done for this "new" magazine. That job was further complicated by the need to continue to put out the old *Steel* each week. Moreover, old *Steel* men had to be replaced. New editorial people had to be hired,

and all the remaining editors needed to be retrained. As Campbell recalled, "we had to scramble like the devil."[39]

And scramble the top editors did. None of them had experience with a launch, which was how Penton came to see the changes taking place. This was not a simple tinkering with *Steel*. The editors were crafting a refocused product, which would have to be sold to potential advertisers. Editors had to redefine the editorial aim, mission and vision quickly and in terms that the *Steel* sales staff could easily grasp so that the selling of *Industry Week* could begin. There Campbell emerged as the "elder statesman," setting policy and creating an "aura," said one editor. Modic emphasized that Campbell had "absolute veto power" which he exercised regularly. Nonetheless, Campbell did allow Modic and Pascarella latitude in crafting a new magazine for the new readership.[40]

In the end, it was left to Modic to formally commit the magazine's editorial mission and focus to paper. On June 27, 1969, just a few weeks after the board approved the switch, Modic summed it up, "*Industry Week*'s editorial coverage will concern itself with managers and his problems in the <u>business</u> of <u>manufacturing</u>."

> It'll be a manufacturing-business news weekly as opposed to a manufacturing-metalworking, manufacturing-textiles, or manufacturing-chemical type coverage.

The editorial content would have to carry out the task of leading, informing and interpreting.

> More specifically, Industry Week's new coverage will be reporting technical developments of the 'break-through' nature--it'll not be reporting the 'how-to' technical details. It'll cover government-industry relations; marketing; economics, federal and state legislation as it relates to manufacturing business; company-to-company relations; company-to-customer relations, etc.[41]

In the process, Modic shifted the editorial focus drastically from the old *Steel*. That memo, along with the various other correspondence to the sales department, heralded a whole new approach to selling advertising. It was an approach that many of the *Steel* sales force were ill equipped to handle.

The sales force had to be retrained if *Industry Week* was going to succeed. As it turned out, this was a difficult task to teach; some never adjusted to the changes.

Until *Industry Week*, Penton Publishing was--and still is--a company of vertical, specialized business publications. *Machine Design, Foundry* and *Steel* all fell within this category. *Industry Week* was the company's first horizontal book. The narrowly defined, single industry-based advertising sell would not work with *Industry Week*. A horizontal book required a "concept" sell. The "concept" of *Industry Week*--as a broad-based industrial management book had to be sold--to new contacts and new advertisers in new industries. To a sales force "married" to a single industry approach and with solid contacts within the metalworking industry only, this represented a radical departure.

Initially, the *Steel* sales force probably did not grasp everything that this entailed. Shortly after the announcement, reports from the field seemed so favorable that selling advertising

in *Industry Week* appeared to be no problem. As Marino wrote Campbell, "Early reports from the field indicate that our plan to convert STEEL to INDUSTRY WEEK is getting generally favorable reaction." All that would be needed was an "attractive, provocative, controversial, exciting and personal" prototype. [42]

As it turned out, those initial reports were optimistic. Increasingly, the sales side was encountering distress, distrust and disgust among advertisers. Many old *Steel* advertisers, the base upon which *Industry Week* hoped to build, were not sure about the changes. Moreover, a number of *Iron Age*'s sales representatives were fanning the fears by assuring old *Steel* advertisers that *Industry Week* could never succeed.[43]

That sentiment may have been shared by at least a portion of the *Steel* sales force that were now responsible for selling *Industry Week*. A number of these representatives--so successful for decades--were not sure how to "sell" *Industry Week*. Publisher Gillam saw it as a challenge--"We had to retrain our salesmen and our promotion staff. All of us literally had to go back to school and learn more about the new markets and the new methods that would be required to sell advertising space in a new atmosphere."[44]

Certain successful, long-time *Steel* salesmen found that they could not learn the new lessons. These individuals were transferred. Others, more in line with the *Industry Week* "sell," were brought in. In the meantime, however, advertising sales in the new *Industry Week* lagged.[45]

Penton did not rely solely on its *Steel* sales team for *Industry Week*'s future; the company also launched an expensive,

promotional campaign to introduce *Industry Week* . Penton's advertising agency was give "creative freedom to begin to build an image of INDUSTRY WEEK."[46] The creative freedom might not have been as extensive as first suggested, however. One of the individuals responsible for the campaign was Marino's own son Michael.

The promotional campaign rested primarily on two levels--one in advertising, introducing the new magazine in a lavish 12-page insert in *Advertising Age*, and a personal selling campaign, supplemented by a slick audio-visual show and presentations by publisher Gillam, business manager Patrick Keefe and ,to a lesser extent, the editors Campbell and Pascarella.[47]

That campaign worked more effectively than ever imagined. As Gillam reported, "We began to experience a true phenomenon in the publishing business and actually received orders from companies that were not even on our prospect list, but who had read our advertisement and then had requested copies of the magazine and media information."[48]

The one department that seemed to have the least difficulty in this repositioning was circulation. Working in conjunction with sales and editorial, circulation identified the new industries which had to be reached in this repositioning. Industrial codes were soon identified and circulation quickly moved to enlist new readers in the top companies. The task was made substantially easier because *Industry Week*, like *Steel*, would be a controlled, nonpaid circulation book. Over the first year, almost 80,000 new readers had been added to the circulation roles.[49]

Part of the reason for this success stemmed from the editorial product. The prospect of a phenomenal editorial success did not seem likely in late 1969. Campbell and the "launch" team were facing serious problems. The editors had to answer any number of questions. What industries must be covered? What trade associations and key individuals need to be cultivated? How would the *Industry Week* name be introduced into the new industries? How would the editorial staff be retrained to break down the old *Steel* confines? How could everything be done in six months? There was so much research that needed to be done and so little time.

In a sense, this job was made easier by the exodus of many long-time *Steel* editors. The largest number of editors remaining were young and not steeped in *Steel*--as was the case on the sales side. . Increasingly, the younger editors were retraining themselves by doing a certain portion of the research needed in preparation for *Industry Week.* Staffers were assigned to get basic information on the new industries which would soon have to be covered; others identified trade associations; still others looked into key companies in each new industry.

This information was combined with Standard and Poor's Service of Industry Analysis for a series of "white papers" or reports on the new industries to be covered.[50]

The problem of name recognition was more difficult to solve. The *Steel* name was well known in the metalworking industry and at least vaguely familiar in other business fields. *Industry Week* elicited no such response. That had to change--quickly. The *Industry Week* editorial staff had to gain immediate access to top

sources in all industries scheduled to be covered if the new weekly was going to gain credibility. Access to news, sources and tips could not be gradually developed as is usually the case for business books. In such instances, the size of the book grows gradually. But, because this was a repositioning, *Industry Week* started out much larger, in terms of pages, than the advertising base warranted. Penton had committed itself to a major weekly magazine, even if the advertising could not initially sustain it. Thus, the editorial staff had to fill the greatest portion of the book in the beginning. Thus, immediate name recognition became imperative.[51]

Of course, the editorial staff never realized just how much advertising would be lost in the shift to *Industry Week* and how large that editorial hole would be.

The editors were only concerned with cultivating new sources in new industries. In October 1969, *Industry Week*'s editors began introducing themselves to editorial sources in a mass mailing. A letter of introduction was sent to 5000 individuals in hundreds of companies. The letter signed by Modic told the story behind the switch from *Steel* to *Industry Week* and promised that the new magazine's editorial content would serve "the information needs of the manager in industry." But the new magazine needed help. Each individual receiving the letter was urged to add *Industry Week* to the list for promotions and public relations releases.[52]

Still *Industry Week* remained an unknown quantity. Public relations contacts said they needed to see a prototype to understand what Penton planned. It was that same prototype that Marino had urged for the sales staff months before.[53]

The prototype finally came and re-emphasized the differences between *Industry Week* and *Steel*. The prototype stood in stark contrast--from its cover, a modern art representation of man, to the editorial content, far removed from the more technical fare of *Steel*. Features included "The Destroyers: Student Radicals Are Planning to Bring Their Anticapitalist Revolution to Industry: Are You Ready?" and "Bob and Alice: the Woman Behind the Manager."[54]

When the magazine finally debuted on January 5, 1970, it was an immediate editorial success. Circulation had easily made the transition. By 1973, with a circulation of 180,000, *Industry Week* was turning down potential readers, at the rate of over 100 a week, because individuals failed to fully qualify.[55] But editorial and circulation do not pay the bills on this book. The sales staff was still floundering. Circulation had found the readers in the new industries. Editorial had found the sources and the stories. But the sales team was still having problems finding the advertising to reach these new readers--in a recessionary market. The business side tried a range of innovative marketing techniques, including advertising options in a variety of editions, one of the first publications to do so. Advertisers could select a metal producing management edition; a metalworking management edition, for the old *Steel* advertisers; a combination of both, a total industry package or just regional editions.[56]

No matter how innovative the marketing package, the shifts in the sales staff and the promotional campaign, losses continued to mount. The recession, an unforeseen factor, played a force. The sales staff needed time to come up with strategies that would work, even in recessionary times. New advertisers did come aboard, but

slowly and not at a rate to offset the losses. As losses reached into the millions, Penton corporate leadership became nervous. In *Industry Week*'s second year, a senior Penton executive accused Marino of trying to "ruin" the company, a remark which seemed especially ironic since Marino had become Penton's president. Marino recalled, "But we survived and pulled it off." By the third year, some issues were in the black. By year four, *Industry Week* was on stronger footing but the magazine had "a lot of red ink to get into the black," Marino explained.[57]

In the end, the repositioning of *Steel* to *Industry Week* was considerably more expensive than Marino and the Penton board ever imagined. The corporation never anticipated the factors which led to those monumental losses. Marino had the studies to indicate the potential for success that these changes might bring. However, the research and studies never figured the imponderables--a recessionary market, a sales staff that had difficulty selling a refocused, repackaged editorial product. No repositioning up until that time probably ever cost so much. However, this was no ordinary repositioning. Gone was the dominant metalworking magazine. Gone was the proven money maker with the cloudy, financial future. *Industry Week* remained, a magazine in a newly created niche, the industrial management field. Penton had built upon *Steel*'s metalworking management readership and editorial focus to expand both into a broader based industrial management book. It seemed like a natural progression.

But this progression was not an easy one to make. For editorial, where the idea originated, the young staff crafted a book

which would appeal to that new generation of industrial managers. *Industry Week*'s young editorial staff was committed to the idea--they were not steeped in *Steel* nor were they that far removed in age or background from the audience that they wanted to reach.

Circulation seemed to be in sync as well. After researching the market, circulation made the transition easily and quickly as the growing readership rates so strikingly demonstrate. In one year, readership was up 80,000; in four years, at 100,000 and weekly turning down a hundred or more who failed to adequate meet the management qualifications for subscribing.

Prosperity in a magazine requires all three parts of the magazine--editorial, circulation and advertising--working successfully. In this repositioning, advertising had the greatest difficulty making the adjustment.

Even though the continued downward spiral of advertising in the metalworking publication niche was one of the reasons for the switch for *Industry Week*, the sales staff had great difficulty making the switch. Unlike the editorial side, where about a third of the old *Steel* men left, the sales team remained in tact; and these individuals took time to learn the new sell.

Twenty years later, *Industry Week* is a financial success, even more successful than *Steel* in its best days, still profitable even in the recessionary 1990s. That success was not assured when Campbell first broached the idea, when Marino convinced the board, when the editorial staff "scrambled" to craft a repositioned book for an expanded audience, and when the sales team--trying a vertical sell for a horizontal book--floundered. Editorial and circulation's

successes managed to hold the new magazine together until advertising finally steadied the shaky move. No one at Penton ever realized just how expensive an enterprise it was about to under take. But this repositioning illustrated several important points. Comprehensive changes like the ones *Steel* went through required changes in mindset. Editorial made that transition easily, aided, no doubt, by the large number of editors who left after the repositioning was announced. The sales staff had more difficulty seeing--and adjusting to--the strategy of selling a horizontal book. The repositioning also required commitment from top Penton corporate management as well as an influx of millions of dollars and the will to ride out several years of losses.

The repositioning of *Steel* to *Industry Week* showed management in action--how hunches, commitment to an idea and scientific studies work together to bring about substantial changes in magazines. Moreover, it also showed the need for all the departments to work together to bring about these changes. The inability of the sales staff to quickly and easily make the shift from a vertical to a horizontal sell put *Industry Week* in jeopardy. Only with time did the staff come to learn and understand the repositioned magazine.

End Notes

[1]Repositioning is defined as follows: changes to a product--or magazine--made to meet the demands of a new or changing audience. In the case of a magazine, a repositioning may involve changes in content, appearance, circulation and advertising. Repositioning is not a term peculiar to magazines or journalism. It is a broader marketing term that is used to describe changes made to any product and/or service to meet the changing needs of the existing market or to enter a new market.

[2]Louise F. Witt, "A Struggling New England Business Revamps," *Folio*, Jan. 1, 1992, p. 29. Scott Donaton, "'Redbook' narrows in on new look," *Advertising Age*, June 3, 1991, pp. 1, 52. Tony Silver, "Selling 'ninja liberals,' biological research and history," *Folio*, September 1990, p. 54.

[3]Rita Stollman, "Before you reposition...," *Folio*, March 1992, pp. 97-98, 100.

[4]AutoWeek: Following a positioning road map," *Folio*, October 1986, p. 181. Liz Horton, "Travel Agent repositioned," *Folio*, September 1990, p. 33.

[5]Recently, several articles explain how to reposition without going into much depth beyond articulating the steps to follow. The two best of this group are Pierce Hollingsworth Jr. and Bernard Gordon, "Repositioning: How to prepare for the inevitable," *Folio*, October 1986, pp. 174-183, and Rita Stollman, "Before you reposition...," *Folio*, March 1992, pp. 97-98, 100.

[6]ibid.

[7]One of the few include Ronald J. Graham Jr., "The History of 'Southern Magazine,' 1986-1989,"M.A. Thesis, University of Mississippi, 1990.

[8]The author wishes to thank Penton Publishing, Cleveland, for opening its files to the researcher. The author also wishes to thank the following individuals for their time, cooperation and candidness: Sal Marino, Perry Pascarella, James Gillam, Patrick Keefe, Walter Campbell, Stan Modic and Robert Huber.

[9]A number of publications have made vast changes over long periods of time. Crain brought its changes to AutoWeek over years, but never changed the periodical's name. "AutoWeek: Following a positioning roadmap," *Folio*, October 1986, p. 181.

[10]ibid.

[11]Penton came to see the changes as a launch and not just a simple repositioning. Nonetheless, *Industry Week* was a continuation of *Steel*. It continued its volume numeration and its staff. Moreover, Penton also kept *Steel*'s circulation as *Industry Week*'s circulation base.

[12]"Beginnings of Vol. XX," *Iron Trade Review*, Jan. 1, 1887, p. 4. Earl Shaner, "History of Penton Publishing," *Penton Progress*, Feb. 8, 1954, p. 2.

[13]Advertisement, *Iron Trade Review*, Aug. 4, 1892, p. 21.

[14]Former publishers included: Frank Houghton, Day and Carter, Cleveland Printing and Publishing, Iron Trade Review Co., and Iron and Steel Publishing.

[15]Shaner, "History of Penton Publishing," Penton Progress, Feb. 15, 1954, p. 3, and Feb. 22, 1954, p. 5. Iron Trade Review, Jan. 3, 1907, p. 10.

[16]Shaner, "History of Penton Publishing," Penton Progress, May 17, 1954, pp. 5-6. "How Industry is Greeting Steel," *Steel*, July 17, 1935, p. 35 and July 24, 1930, p. 35. *Steel*, Oct. 1, 1931, p. 27.

[17]Advertisement, *Steel*, Jan. 14, 1935.

[18]"Steel Market and Media Data," 1954, p. 13, and "Marketing Report," 1958, Business Rate and Data, *Steel* Promotional File, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[19]*Steel* had the editorial staff to accomplish enterprise reporting. Steel had 33 full-time editors, the largest editorial staff in its niche. In 1958, the magazine won 25 national editorial awards--a "number exceeded by no other business publication." Moreover, the magazine was regularly cited by newspapers across the nation--including the Cleveland *Press*, Seattle *Journal*, New York *American* and Chicago *Tribune* to name but a few. "King-Size Quotes," *Steel*, November 30, 1953, p. 8.

[20]Telephone interview with Patrick Keefe, then business manager of *Steel/Industry Week*, now vice president of Penton Publishing, Aug. 12, 1991.

[21]Interview with Sal Marino, now chief executive officer, Penton Publishing, Aug. 12, 1991.

[22]Magazine Industry Newsletter, June 10, 1969.

[23]Telephone interview with Robert Huber, Nov. 26, 1991.

[24]Telephone interviews with Walt Campbell, Aug. 11, 1991 and Nov. 26, 1991.

[25]Interview with Sal Marino, Aug. 12, 1991.

[26]Telephone interview with Walt Campbell, Aug.11, 1991.

[27]*Steel*, Jan. 5, 1959, pp. 95-97; Dec. 31, 1962, pp. 71-75; and Jan. 11, 1965, pp. 42-49.

[28]See, for example, Steel, June 22, 1959: "Complete Index to Market News and Prices," p. 119, "Steel Works Operations Chart," p. 128, "May Steel Production," p. 128 and "Nonferrous Metals," p. 144. "R&D Sparks Metalworking Automation," *Steel*, Jan. 16, 1961, pp. 40-41.

[29]Telephone interview, Robert Huber, Nov. 26, 1991.

[30]For the 1963 date, see "'Steel' shifts emphasis to become 'Industry Week'," Industrial Marketing, July 1969. For a Feb. 24, 1964 date, see Advertising Announcement, "An Important Announcement for STEEL Advertisers, not dated, signed James K. Gillam, publisher, from Industry Week History File, Penton Publishing, Cleveland. For 1965 date, see James K. Gillam to Fred Wittner Cleveland, June 3, 1972, letter. All from *Industry Week* history file, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[31]Gillam to Wittner, Cleveland, June 3, 1972, *Industry Week* file, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[32]Telephone interview with Gillam, Aug. 6, 1991.

[33]Interview with Marino, Aug. 13, 1991. Telephone interview with Campbell, Aug. 11 and Nov. 26, 1991. Gillam to Wittner, Cleveland, June 3, 1972, *Industry Week* file, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[34]Telephone interview with Walt Campbell, Nov. 26, 1991. Telephone interviews with Gillam, Aug. 6, 1991 and Keefe, Aug. 12, 1991. Interview with Marino, Aug. 13, 1991.

[35]Telephone interview with Walt Campbell, Nov. 26, 1991.

[36]Personal interview with Sal Marino, Aug. 13, 1991.

[37]Telephone interview with Campbell and Huber, Nov. 26, 1991.

[38]See list appended to "First IW Sales Meeting" notes, January 1970 typed script, *Industry Week* Preparations File, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[39]Telephone interview with Walt Campbell, Nov. 26, 1991.

[40]Telephone interviews with Stanley Modic, Nov. 26, 1991.

[41]Memo, Modic to Campbell, Pascarella, June 27, 1969, *Industry Week* Preparations, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[42]Memo, Marino to Campbell, June 13, 1969, *Industry Week* Preparation File, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[43]Interview with Marino, Aug. 13, 1991.

[44]Gillam to Wittner, Cleveland, June 3, 1972, *Industry Week* File, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[45]Interview with Marino, Aug. 13, 1991.

[46]Gillam to Wittner, Cleveland, June 3, 1972, *Industry Week* File, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[47]Telephone interviews with Gillam, Aug. 6, 1991 and Keefe, Aug. 12, 1991. Interviews with Marino, Aug. 12, 1991 and Pascarella, Sept. 20, 1991

[48]Gillam to Wittner, Cleveland, June 3, 1972, *Industry Week* File, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[49]*Industry Week*, Jan. 4, 1971, pp. 76-7.

[50]Memo, Pascarella to Campbell, June 11, 1969 and Memo, Modic to all *Steel/Industry Week* editors, Oct. 16, 1969, *Industry Week* Preparation File, Penton Publishing, Cleveland.

[51]That sometimes meant 50 or more pages a week. Pascarella interview, Sept. 20, 1991.

[52]Modic to all *Steel/Industry Week* editors, Oct. 16, 1969. Letter to 5,000 contacts signed Modic.

[53]Memo, Pascarella to Campbell, Modic, Aug.29, 1969.

[54]Prototype, *Industry Week*, pp. 66-67 and pp. 71-72.

[55]*Industry Week*, March 12, 1973, p. 76 and April 20, 1973, p. 88.

[56]James Gillam, "An important Announcement for Steel Advertisers," Advertising mailing, nd., *Industry Week* file, Penton Publishing Archives, Cleveland.

[57]Marino interview, Aug. 13, 1991